

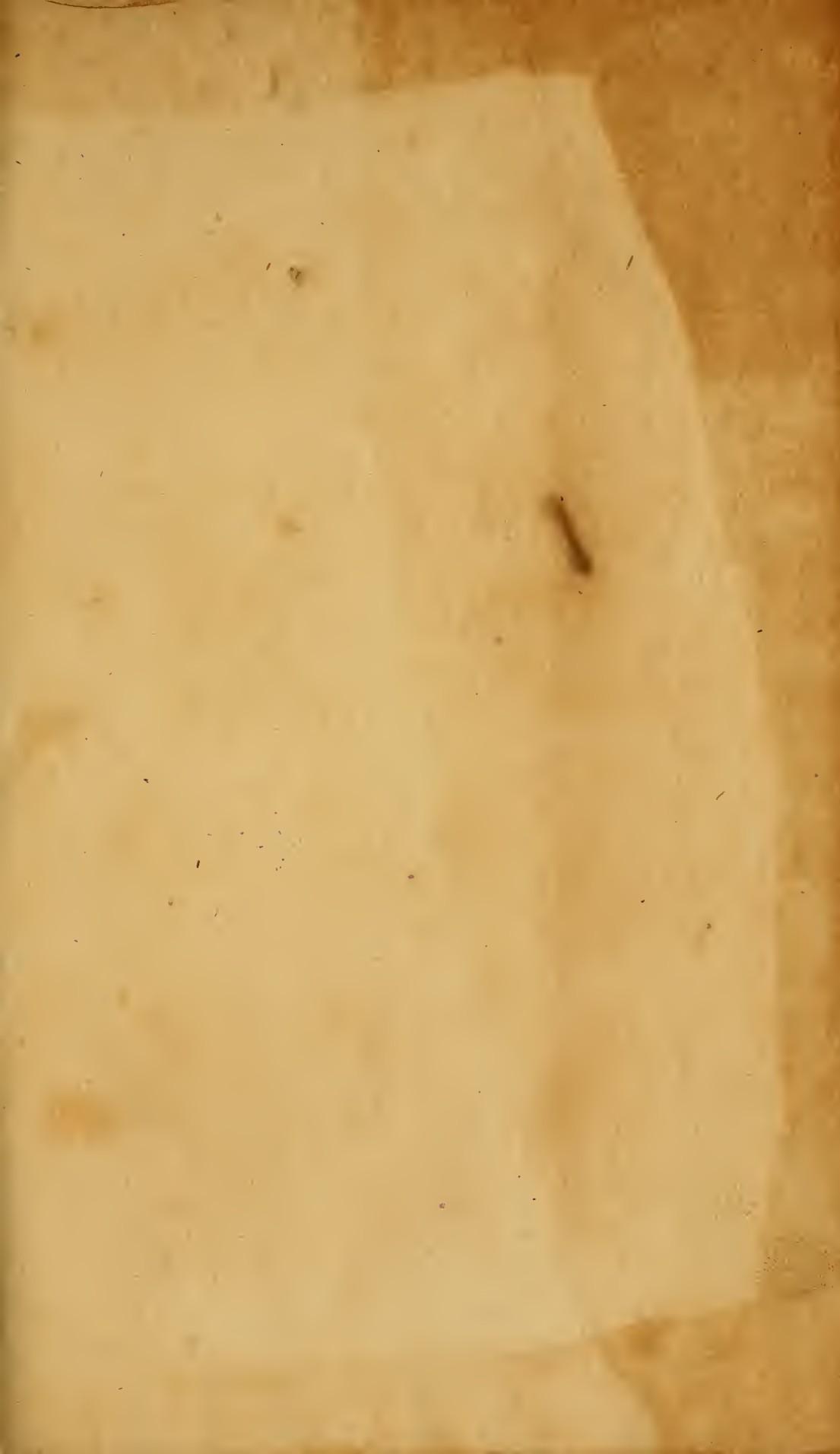
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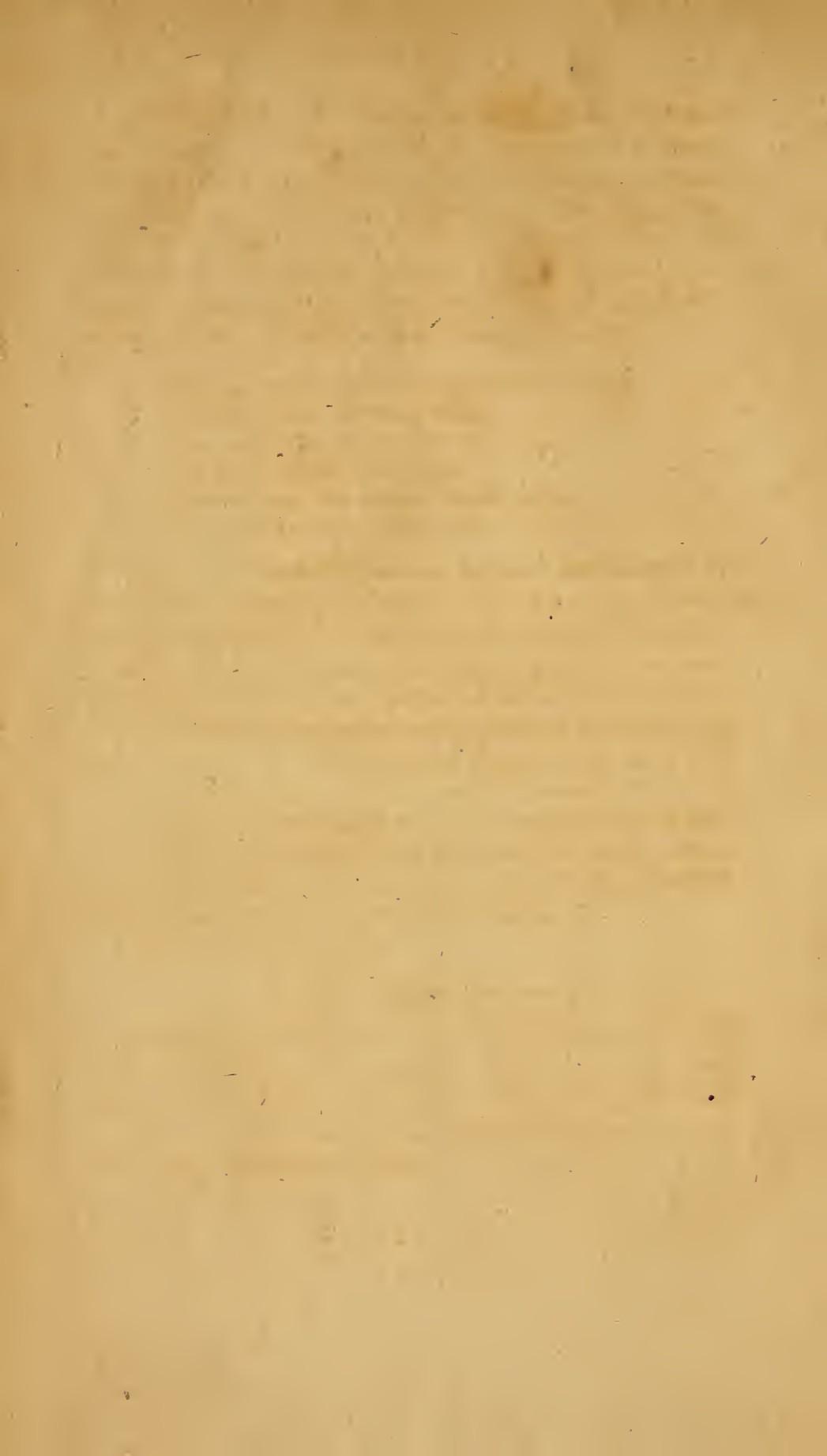


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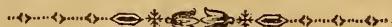
WHILST this Volume was in the press, the labors and pursuits of the excellent Author were arrested by death. He died June 20th, 1798, in the midst of usefulness and public estimation. The friends to literature, to religion, and to their country, will long deplore the loss of such a man. In reference to his estimable historical writings, we may justly apply to him the eulogy addressed to an eminent Italian, who wrote a History of Verona, in the sixteenth century :

Quæ priùs exciderant, quæ vix monumenta manebant,
Restituis patriæ tot monumenta tuæ.
Per te gesta virūm, per te patet urbis origo,
Ut patriæ dici jam mereare pater ;
Marmora, longa dies, rabies et barbara perdet,
At non ulla tuum vis abolebit opus.

The whole of this Volume was prepared for the press by the Author, excepting the Index, which, having been promised in the Proposals, has been furnished by another hand.

With a view to the execution of his original plan of compiling and publishing a complete *American Biography*, Dr. Belknap had procured and partially arranged a valuable collection of materials. Some of his collections were left in such a state of preparation, that they might be readily fitted for the press, if the public opinion should countenance the publication, and the tenderness of his friends to his literary reputation should suffer them to present to the world, any unfinished production bearing the sanction of his name.

Boston, Aug. 20th, 1798.



PROPOSALS have been issued for publishing by subscription, *Two Volumes of Dr. Belknap's Sermons*. Those who may be disposed to encourage the work, and may not have seen the Proposals, may become Subscribers, by applying to any of the Booksellers in Boston.

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY :

O R,

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THOSE PERSONS

WHO HAVE BEEN DISTINGUISHED IN

A M E R I C A,

A S

ADVENTURERS, || DIVINES,
STATESMEN, || WARRIORS,
PHILOSOPHERS, || AUTHORS,

AND OTHER REMARKABLE CHARACTERS.

Comprehending a Recital of

The EVENTS connected with their LIVES and
ACTIONS.

BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D.

V O L. II.

NIL MAGNUM SINE LABORE.

Published according to Act of Congress.

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JULY, 1798.

~~ADAMS~~ 251-13

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

VARIOUS causes, uncontrollable by human power, have concurred to retard the compilation and publication of this Second Volume. A Third is in some degree of forwardness.

In Vol. I. page 56, it is said that Governor Wentworth of Nova-Scotia had employed a proper person, to search for any vestige or tradition, which might remain, of the ancient Colony of BIRON, in the island of Newfoundland. The places which were pointed out as most likely have been explored. The result is, that "not a vestige or tradition remains of any Indians, but the Micmacs and Esquimaux. Very few of the former are seen. Of the latter, some visit the island occasionally, for a short time, and return to the continent. There is no appearance of grape-vines, or of any thing that could be mistaken for them."

The inquiry, however hopeless, will be continued, as there may be opportunity; and the result, if any, will be communicated.

BOSTON, JUNE 1, 1798.

INTRODUCTION.

THE beginning of the Colony of Virginia has been related in the life of Capt. JOHN SMITH ; to whose ingenuity, prudence, patience, activity, industry and resolution, its subsistence during the first three years, is principally to be ascribed. It would have been either deserted by the people, or destroyed by the natives, had he not encouraged the former by his unremitting exertions, and struck an awe into the latter by his military address and intrepidity.

THE views of the adventurers in England were intent on present gain ; and their strict orders were to preserve peace with the natives. Neither of these could be realized. Cultivation is the first object in all new plantations ; this requires time and industry ; and till the wants of the people could be supplied by their own labour, it was necessary to have some dependence on the natives, for such provisions as they could spare, from their own consumption ; and when the supply could not be obtained by fair bargain, it was thought necessary to use stratagem

or

or force. Those who were on the spot were the best judges of the time and the occasion of using those means; but they were not permitted to judge for themselves. The company of adventurers undertook to prescribe rules, to insist on a rigorous execution of them, and to form various projects which never could be carried into effect. In short, they expected more from their Colony than it was possible for it to produce, in so short a time, with such people as they sent to reside there, and in the face of so many dangers and difficulties, which were continually presented to them.

After the arrival of Capt. NEWPORT in England, from his third voyage, the Company of South Virginia, disappointed and vexed at the small returns which the ships brought home, determined on a change of system. They solicited and obtained of the Crown a new Charter (May 23, 1609) and took into the Company a much greater number of adventurers than before. Not less than six hundred and fifty-seven names of persons are inserted in the Charter, many of whom were noblemen and gentlemen of fortune, and merchants; beside fifty-six incorporated companies of mechanics in the city of London;* and room was left for the admission of more. The government at home was vested in a Council of fifty-two persons, named in the Charter;

at

* Stith and Hazard.

at the head of which was Sir THOMAS SMITH, the former Treasurer ; and all vacancies which might happen in the Council, were to be filled by the vote of a majority of the Company legally assembled. This Council in England had the power of appointing Governors and other officers, to reside in Virginia, and of making laws and giving instructions for the government of the Colony. In consequence of this power, the Treasurer and Council constituted the following officers.

Sir THOMAS WEST, Lord DELAWARE, Captain General.

Sir THOMAS GATES, Lieutenant General.

Sir GEORGE SOMERS, Admiral.

Capt. CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, Vice Admiral.

Sir THOMAS DALE, High Marshall.

Sir FERDINANDO WAINMAN, General of Horse.

Several other gentlemen, whose names are not mentioned, were appointed to other offices, all of which were to be holden *during life*. This may seem a strange way of appointing officers in a new Colony, especially when the Charter gave the Council power to revoke and discharge them. But it is probable that these gentlemen had friends in the Company who were persons of wealth and influence, and who thought the offices not worthy of their acceptance, unless

they

they could hold them long enough to make their fortunes. The example of COLUMBUS might have served as a precedent, who had the office of Admiral of the West-Indies, not only for life, but as an inheritance to his posterity.

AMERICAN



AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

XVI. SIR THOMAS SMITH.

ALL which is known with certainty of this gentleman is, that he was a London merchant, of great wealth and influence, Governor of the East-India and Muscovy Companies, and of the Company associated for the discovery of the north-west passage; that he had been sent (1604) Ambassador from King James to the Emperor of Russia; that he was one of the Assignees of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent, and thus became interested in the Colony of Virginia. He had been Treasurer of the Company, under their first Charter, and presided in all the meetings of the Council and of the Company in England; but he never came to America.

B

It

It is unfortunate for the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, that both the Company and Colony of South Virginia were distracted by a malevolent party spirit ; and, that he was equally an object of reproach on the one hand, and of panegyric on the other. To decide on the merit or demerit of his character, at this distance of time, would perhaps require more evidence than can be produced ; but candour is due to the dead, as well as to the living.

He was a warm friend of Captain John Smith, who in his account of Virginia, speaks of him with respect, as a diligent and careful overseer, especially in sending supplies to the Colony, during his residence there ; and after his return to England, he depended on Sir Thomas and the Council, for those accounts of the Colony which he has inserted in his history, subsequent to that period.

In a dedication prefixed to a narrative of the shipwreck of Sir George Somers on the island of Bermuda,* Sir Thomas is complimented in the following manner : “ Wor-

thy

* This narrative was written by Sylvester Jordan, one of the passengers. The dedication was by another person, who subscribes it with the initials W. C. It was printed with the black English letter, 1613.

thy Sir, if other men were like you, if all as able as you, were as willing, we should soon see a flourishing Christian Church and Commonwealth in Virginia. But let this be your consolation; there is one that is more able and more willing than you, even the GOD of heaven and earth. And know further, for your comfort, that though the burthen lie on you and a few more, yet are there many honourable and worthy men of all sorts who will never shrink from you. Go on, therefore, with courage and constancy; and, be assured that though by your honourable embassages and employments, and by your charitable and virtuous courses, you have gained a worthy reputation in this world; yet nothing that you ever did or suffered, more honours you in the eyes of all that are godly-wise, than your faithful and unwearied prosecution, your continual and comfortable assistance of those foreign plantations."

But though flattered and complimented by his admirers, yet he had enemies both among the Company in England, and the Colonists in Virginia. By some of his associates, he was accused of favouring the growth

growth of tobacco in the Colony, to the neglect of other staple commodities, which the country was equally capable of producing. It was also alleged, that instead of a body of laws agreeable to the English Constitution, a book had been printed and dedicated to him, and sent to Virginia by his own authority, and without the order or consent of the Company, containing "Laws written in blood;" which, though they might serve for a time of war, being mostly translated from the martial law of the United Netherlands, yet were destructive of the liberties of English subjects, and contrary to the express letter of the Royal Charter. For this reason, many people in England were deterred from emigrating to Virginia, and many persons in the Colony were unjustly put to death.

In the Colony, the clamour against him was still louder. It was there said, that he had been most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, in the matter of supplies; that in a certain period called "the starving time," the allowance for a man was only eight ounces of meal and half a pint of pease per day, and that neither of them were fit to be eaten;

eaten ; that famine obliged many of the people to fly to the savages for relief, who being retaken were put to death for desertion ; that others were reduced to the necessity of stealing, which by his sanguinary laws was punished with extreme rigour ; that the sick and infirm, who were unable to work, were denied the allowance, and famished for want ; that some in these extremities dug holes in the earth, and hid themselves till they perished ; that the scarcity was "so lamentable," that they were constrained to eat dogs, cats, snakes, and even human corpses ; that one man killed his *wife*, and put her flesh in pickle, for which he was burnt to death.* These calamities were by the Colonists so strongly and pointedly laid to the charge of the Treasurer, that when they had found a mare which had been killed by the Indians, and were boiling her flesh for food, they wished Sir Thomas was in the same kettle. A list of these grievances was presented to King James ; and in the conclusion of the petition, they begged his Majesty, that, " rather than be reduced to live under the like government again, he would send over Commissioners to hang them."

In

* Stith, 305.

In answer to these accusations, it was said, that the original ground of all these calamities, was the unfortunate shipwreck of a vessel loaded with supplies, on the island of Bermuda. This happened at a time when Captain John Smith was disabled and obliged to quit the Colony, which had been supported in a great measure by his exertions.* Another source of the mischief was the indolence of the Colonists themselves ; who regarded only the present moment, and took no care for the future. This indolence was so great, that they would eat their fish raw, rather than go to a small distance from the water for wood to dress it. When there was a plenty of sturgeon in the river, they would not take any more than to serve their present necessity, though they knew the season was approaching, when these fish return to the sea ; nor did they take care to preserve their nets, but suffered them to perish for want of drying and mending. Another cause, was the dishonesty of those who were employed in procuring corn from the natives ; for having accomplished their object, they went to sea and turned pirates ; some of them

* See Vol. I. 304.

them united with other pirates, and those who got home to England, protested that they were obliged to quit Virginia, for fear of starving. Besides, it was said that when ships arrived with provision, it was embezzled by the mariners, and the articles intended for traffic with the Indians, were privately given away or sold for a trifle ; and some of the people venturing too far into their villages, were surprized and killed.

The story of the man eating his dead wife, was propagated in England by some of the deserters ; but when it was examined afterward by Sir Thomas Gates, it proved to be no more than this. One of the Colonists who hated his wife, secretly killed her ; then to conceal the murder, cut her body in pieces, and hid them in different parts of the house. When the woman was missed, the man was suspected ; his house was searched, and the pieces were found. To excuse his guilt, he pleaded that his wife died of hunger, and that he daily fed on her remains. His house was again searched, and other food was found ; on which he was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was put to death ; being burned, according to law.*

Though

* Purchas, Vol. V. 1757.

Though calumniated both in England and America, Sir Thomas Smith did not want advocates ; and his character for integrity was so well established in England, that when some of the Company who had refused to advance their quotas, pleaded his negligence and avarice in their excuse, the Court of Chancery, before whom the affair was carried, gave a decree against them, and they were compelled to pay the sums which they had subscribed.*

The charges against him were equally levelled against the Council and Company ; and by their order a declaration was published, in which the misfortunes of the Colony are thus summarily represented. “ Cast up the reckoning together, want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the traitors, their market spoiled by the mariners, their nets broken, the deer chased, their boats lost, their hogs killed, their trade with the Indians forbidden, some of their men fled, some murdered, and most by drinking the brackish water of James Fort weakened and endangered ; famine and sickness by all these means increased. Here at home the monies

came

* Stith, 121.

came in so slowly, that the Lord Delaware could not be dispatched till the Colony was worn and spent with difficulties. Above all, having neither ruler nor preacher, they feared neither God nor man ; which provoked the Lord, and pulled down his judgments upon them.”*

Sir Thomas Smith continued in his office of Treasurer till 1619 ; when the prejudice against him became so strong, that by the interest of the Earl of Warwick, who hated him, his removal was in contemplation.† At the same time, Sir Thomas, being advanced in years and infirmities ; having grown rich, and having a sufficiency of business as Governor of the East-India Company, thought it prudent to retire from an office of so great responsibility, attended with so much trouble and so little advantage ; and accordingly sent in his resignation to the Council of Virginia. His friends would have dissuaded him from this measure ; but he was inflexible. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected his successor, a gentleman of good understanding, and great application to business. At his motion, a gratuity of 2,000 acres of land in Virginia was granted to Sir Thomas. He had been

C

in

* Purchas, v. 1758.

† Stith, 158.

in office upwards of twelve years, in which time the expenses of the plantation had amounted to £80,000 ; and though he had declared that he left £4000 for his successor to begin with, yet it was found on examination, that the Company was in debt to a greater amount than that sum.

Several ways were used for the raising of supplies to carry on the colonization of Virginia. One was by the subscription of the members of the Company ; another was by the voluntary donations of other people ; and a third was by lotteries. Subscriptions, if not voluntarily paid, were recoverable by law ; but this method was tedious and expensive. Donations were precarious, and though liberal and well intended, yet they sometimes consisted only of books and furniture for Churches and Colleges, and appropriations for the education of Indian children. Lotteries were before this time unknown in England ; but so great was the rage for this mode of raising money, that within the space of six years the sum of £29,000 was brought into the treasury. This was “the real and substantial food, with which Virginia was nourished.”* The au-

thority

* Stith, 191.

thority on which the lotteries were grounded was the Charter of King James, (1609) and so tenacious was this monarch of his prerogative, that in a subsequent proclamation he vainly interdicted the “*speaking against the Virginian Lottery.*” Yet when the House of Commons (1621) began to call in question some of the supposed rights of royalty, these lotteries and the proclamation which enforced them, were complained of and presented among the grievances of the nation. On that occasion, an apology was made by the King’s friends,* “that he never liked the Lotteries, but *gave way* to them, because he was told that Virginia could not subsist without them ;” and when the Commons insisted on their complaint, the monarch revoked the licence by an order of Council ; in consequence of which the treasury of the Company was almost without resources.

* Chalmers’ Annals, 33.

XVII. THOMAS, LORD DELAWARE.

SIR THOMAS GATES.

SIR GEORGE SOMERS.

CAPT. CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT.

SIR THOMAS DALE.

SIR FERDINANDO WAINMAN.

THE history of these persons is so blended; that a separate account of each cannot be written from any materials in my possession. Their characters, however, may be distinguished in a few words, before I proceed to the history of their united transactions, in the employment of the Company and Colony of Virginia.

Lord DELAWARE is said to have been a worthy peer of an ancient family; a man of fine parts and of a generous disposition; who took much pains; and was at a great expense, to establish the Colony; in the service of which he suffered much in his health, and finally died at sea, (1618) in his second voyage to America, in or near the mouth of the Bay which bears his name.*

Sir THOMAS GATES, was probably a land officer. Between him and Sir George Somers,

* Purchas, v. 1757. Keith, 131. Stith, 148.

Somers, there was not that cordial harmony, which is always desirable between men who are engaged in the same business. Excepting this, nothing is said to his disadvantage.*

Sir GEORGE SOMERS was a gentleman of rank and fortune, of approved fidelity and indefatigable industry; an excellent sea commander, having been employed in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, and having distinguished himself in several actions against the Spaniards in the West-Indies. At the time of his appointment to be Admiral of Virginia, he was above sixty years of age.† His seat in Parliament was vacated by his acceptance of a colonial commission. He died in the service of the Colony (1610) at Bermuda, highly esteemed and greatly regretted.‡

CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT was a mariner of ability and experience in the American seas. He had been a commander in the navy of Elizabeth, and, in 1592, had conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies; where, with three or four ships, he plundered and burnt some towns, and took several prizes, with a considerable booty. He was a vain, empty, conceited man, and

very

* Stith, 115.

† Chalmers, 27.

‡ Purchas, v. 1735. Stith, 118.

very fond of parade. By the advantage of going to and fro, he gained the confidence of the Council and Company in England, and whatever he proposed, was adopted by them. Some traits of his character have been given in the life of Capt. John Smith. In 1621 he imported fifty men, and seated them on a plantation, which he called Newport's News. *Daniel Gookin* came with a cargo of cattle from Ireland, and settled first on this plantation. He afterward removed to New-England.*

Sir THOMAS DALE is said to have been a gentleman of much honour, wisdom and experience. To him was entrusted the execution of the laws sent over by Sir Thomas Smith ; which, though perhaps necessary at that time, (1611) when so many turbulent and refractory persons were to be governed, yet were subversive of that freedom which Englishmen claimed as their birth-right, and gave too much power into the hands of a Governor. Though his administration was marked with rigour and severity, yet he did much toward advancing the settlements. On a high neck of land in

James

* Stith, 205. Beverly, 37. Purchas, v. 1792.

James River named Varina; he built a town which he called Henrico, in honour of Prince Henry, the remains of which were visible when Mr. Stith wrote his history (1746.) On the opposite side of the river he made a plantation on lands, from which he expelled the Indians, and called it New-Bermuda.* He staid in Virginia about five years, and returned to England (1616) after which there is no farther account of him.

Of Sir FERDINANDO WAINMAN, nothing is said but that he died soon after his arrival in Virginia, with Lord Delaware, in the summer of 1610.†

When the new Charter of Virginia was obtained, the Council and Company immediately equipped a fleet, to carry supplies of men and women, with provisions and other necessaries, to the Colony. The fleet consisted of seven ships, in each of which, beside the Captain, went one or more of the Counsellors or other officers of the Colony ; and though there was a dispute about rank between two officers, Somers and Gates, they were placed in one ship with Newport, the third in command. The Governor-General,

* Stith, 123, 124, 138.

† Stith, 117.

General, Lord Delaware, did not sail with this fleet ; but waited till the next year, to go with a further supply. The names of the ships and their commanders were as follow.

The *Sea-Adventure*, Admiral Sir *George Somers*, with Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Captain *Christopher Newport*.

The *Diamond*, Captain *Radcliffe* and Captain *King*.

The *Falcon*, Captain *Martin* and Master *Nelson*.

The *Blessing*, *Gabriel Archer* and Captain *Adams*.

The *Unity*, Captain *Wood* and Master *Pett*.

The *Lion*, Captain *Webb*.

The *Swallow*, Captain *Moone* and Master *Somers*.

The fleet was attended by two smaller vessels, one of which was a ketch, commanded by *Matthew Fitch*, the other a pinnace, in which went Captain *Davies* and Master *Davies*.*

This fleet sailed from Plymouth on the second day of June, 1609. Though their orders were not to go by the old route of the Canaries and the West-Indies, but to steer directly

* Purchas, v. 1733.

directly for Virginia, yet they went as far southward as the twenty-sixth degree of latitude; where the heat was so excessive, that many of the people were taken with calentures. In two ships, thirty-two persons died; others suffered severely, and one vessel only was free from sickness.

The whole fleet kept company till the twenty-fourth of July, when they supposed themselves to be within eight days sail of Virginia, stretching to the north-west, and crossing the Gulf Stream. On that day, began a violent tempest from the north-east, accompanied with a horrid darkness, which continued forty-four hours. In this gale the fleet was scattered. The Admiral's ship, on board of which was the Commission for the new Government, with the three principal officers, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda. The ketch foundered at sea. The remainder, much damaged and distressed, arrived one after another in James River, about the middle of August.

The provisions brought by these ships were insufficient for the Colony and the passengers. This deficiency proved very detrimental, and occasioned the miseries and re-

proaches which have been already mentioned. The space of ten months from August 1609, to the arrival of Lord Delaware, in June 1610, was known in Virginia for many years after, by the name of "the starving time." But the want of provision was not the only deficiency; there was a total want of principle and of order.

Of the company who arrived at this time, the following description is given by a native Virginian.* "A great part of them consisted of unruly sparks, packed off, by their friends, to escape a worse destiny at home. The rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to ruin a Commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd company were led by their seditious Captains into many mischiefs and extravagancies. They assumed the power of disposing of the Government; and conferred it sometimes on one, and sometimes on another. To day the old Commission must rule, to-morrow the new, and the next day neither. All was anarchy and distraction."

Such

* Stith, 103.

Such being the character of the people, there could not have been any great hope of success, if the whole fleet had arrived in safety.

The Admiral's ship had on board a great quantity of provision. She was separated from the fleet in the storm, and sprang a leak at sea, so that with constant pumping and bailing, they could scarcely keep her above water for three days and four nights ; during which time Sir George Somers did not once leave the quarter-deck. The crew, worn out with fatigue and despairing of life, broached the strong liquors, and took leave of each other with an inebriating draught, till many of them fell asleep. In this dreadful extremity, Sir George discovered land ; the news of which awoke and revived them, and every man exerted himself to do his duty. At length the ship struck ground in such a position between two rocks, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, that the people and a great part of the cargo were safely landed.

The Bermuda Islands were uninhabited, and had the reputation of being enchanted.*

But

* "Whereas it is reported that this land of Bermudas, with the islands about it, are enchanted and kept by evil
and

But when the people were on shore they found the air pure and salubrious, and fruits of various kinds growing in luxuriant plenty and perfection. The shore was covered with tortoises, the sea abounded with fish, and in the woods they found wild hogs, which it is supposed had escaped from some vessel wrecked on the island.

Here they remained nine months. The two senior officers lived apart, and each, with the assistance of the men, built a vessel of the cedars which grew on the island, and the iron and cordage saved from the wreck. Sir George Somers laboured with his own hands every day till his vessel was completed. One of these vessels was called the Patience, the other the Deliverance.

It is remarked,* that during their abode on this island, they had morning and evening prayers daily; divine service was performed and two sermons were preached every Lord's day, by their Chaplain Mr. Bucke.

and wicked spirits; it is a most idle and false report. God grant that we have brought no wicked spirits with us, or that there come none after us; for we found nothing there so ill as ourselves."

Jordan's News from Bermudas, 1613.

* Purchas, v. 1746.

Bucke. One marriage was celebrated, and two children were born and baptized. Five of the company died, one of whom was murdered. The murderer was put under confinement, but escaped and hid himself among the woods and rocks, with another offender, till the departure of the company, when they were left behind. Many of the people were so well pleased with the place, that they were with difficulty prevailed on to quit these pleasant islands,

The lower seams of the vessels were calked with the remains of the useless cables, and a small quantity of tar saved from the wreck. The upper seams were secured with lime made of calcined stones and shells, flaked with fresh water and softened with the oil of tortoises. This cement soon became dry and firm. The wild hogs served for sea-stores, being preserved with salt, crystallized on the rocks,

On the tenth of May, 1610, the company, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, embarked, and after encountering some difficulty among the rocks, the next day got clear of the land, and shaped their course for Virginia; where they arrived on the twenty-first,

first, at Point Comfort, and two days after at James-Town. The Colony, reduced to sixty persons, in a sickly, mutinous and starving condition, gave them a mournful welcome. The new Governor, Sir Thomas Gates, caused the bell to be rung, and summoned the whole company to the Church ; where, after an affectionate prayer by Mr. Bucke, the new Commission was read, and the former President Mr. Percy, then scarcely able to stand, delivered up the old Patent, with his Commission.

On a strict examination, it was found that the provisions brought by the two pinnaclces, would serve the people not more than sixteen days, and that what they had in the town would be spent in ten. It being seed time, the Indians had no corn to spare, and they were so hostile that no treaty could be holden with them. The sturgeon had not yet come into the river, and many of the nets were useless. No hope remained of preserving the Colony ; and, after mature deliberation, it was determined to abandon the country. The nearest place where any relief could be obtained was Newfoundland ; thither they proposed to sail, and there they expected

expected to meet the fishing vessels from England, on board of which the people might be distributed and get passages home, when the season of fishing should be completed.

Having taken this resolution, and buried their ordnance at the gate of the fort, on the seventh of June, at beat of drum, the whole company embarked in four pinnaces. It was with difficulty that some of the people were restrained from setting fire to the town ; but the Governor, with a select company, remained on shore till the others had embarked, and he was the last that stepped into the boat. About noon they came to sail, and fell down with the ebb, that evening, to Hog-Island. The next morning's tide brought them to Mulberry-Island Point ; where, lying at anchor, they discovered a boat coming up the river with the flood. In an hour's time the boat came along side the Governor's pinnace, and proved to be an express from the Lord Delaware, who had arrived, with three ships and a supply of provision, two days before, at Point Comfort ; where the Captain of the fort had informed him of the intended evacuation ; and

his

his Lordship immediately dispatched his skiff with letters by Captain Edward Brewster, to prevent their departure. On receiving these letters, the Governor ordered the anchors to be weighed, and the wind, being easterly, brought them back, in the night, to their old quarters at James-Town.

On the Lord's day June 10, the ships came to anchor before the town. As soon as Lord Delaware came on shore, he fell down on his knees, and continued some time in silent devotion. He then went to Church, and after service, his Commission was read, which constituted him "Governor and Captain-General during his life, of the Colony and Plantation of Virginia."* Sir Thomas Gates delivered up his Commission and the Colony Seal. On this occasion, Lord Delaware made a public address to the people, blaming them for their former idleness and misconduct, and exhorting them to a contrary behaviour, lest he should be obliged to draw the sword of justice against delinquents, and cut them off; adding, that he had rather spill his own blood to protect them from injuries.

Having

* Purchas, v. 1754.

Having displaced such men as had abused their power, and appointed proper persons to office ; he assigned to every man his portion of labour, according to his capacity ; among which the culture of *vines* was not forgotten ; some Frenchmen having been imported for the purpose. There had been no division of the lands, but all was common property ; and the Colony was considered as one great family, fed daily out of the public store. Their employments were under the direction of the Government, and the produce of their labours was brought into the common stock. The Indians were so troublesome, that it would not have been prudent for the people to disperse, till they should be better able to defend themselves, or till the savages should be more friendly. They were therefore lodged within the fortifications of James-Town ; their working and fishing parties, when abroad, were well armed or guarded ; their situation was hazardous ; and the prospect of improvement, considering the character of the majority, was not very flattering. “ The most honest and industrious would scarcely take so much pains in a week, as they would have done

for themselves in a day ; presuming that however the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them ; by which means they reaped not so much corn from the labours of thirty men, as three men could have produced, on their own lands.”*

No dependance could be placed on any supply of provisions from this mode of exertion. The stores brought over in the fleet might have kept them alive, with prudent management, for the greater part of a year ; but within that time it would be necessary to provide more. The Bermuda Islands were full of hogs, and Sir George Somers offered to go thither with a party to kill and salt them. This offer was readily accepted, and he embarked in his own cedar vessel of thirty tons, accompanied by Captain Samuel Argal, in another.

They sailed together, till by contrary winds they were driven among the Shoals of Nantucket and Cape Cod ; whence Argal found his way back to Virginia, and was dispatched to the Potowmack for corn. There he found Henry Spelman, an English youth, who had been preserved from the fury of Powhatan, by his daughter Pocahontas. By his

assistance

* Purchas, v. 1766.

assistance Argal procured a supply of corn, which he carried to James-Town.

Sir George Somers, after long struggling with contrary winds, was driven to the north-eastern shore of America ; where he refreshed his men, then pursued the main object of his voyage, and arrived safely at Bermuda. There he began to collect the swine, and prepare their flesh for food ; but the fatigues to which he had been exposed by sea and land, proved too severe for his advanced age, and he sunk under the burden. Finding his time short, he made a proper disposition of his estate, and charged his nephew, Matthew Somers, who commanded under him, to return with the provision to Virginia. But the love of his native country prevailed. Having buried the entrails at Bermuda, he carried the corps of his uncle to England, and deposited it at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire. A monument was afterward erected at Bermuda to the memory of this excellent man.* The town of St.

* This monument was erected about ten years after his death, by *Nathaniel Butler*, then Governor of Bermuda ; of which the following account is given by Captain Smith, in his history of Virginia and the Somer Islands, page 193.

St. George was named for him, and the islands were called Somer Islands. The return of this vessel gave the first account in England of the discovery of those islands.

Virginia, thus left destitute of so able and virtuous a friend, was soon after deprived of the presence of its Governor, Lord Delaware. Having built two forts at the mouth of James River, and another at the falls ; and having rendered his Government respectable in the view both of the English and Indians, he found his health so much impaired, that he was obliged in nine months to quit the country, intending to go to Nevis, for the benefit of the

warm

“ Finding accidentally a little cross erected in a bye place among many bushes, and understanding that there was buried the heart and entrails of Sir *George Somers*, he resolved to have a better memory to so worthy a soldier. So finding a great marble stone, brought out of England, he caused it by masons to be wrought handsomely and laid over the place, which he environed with a square wall of hewn stone, tomb-like ; whereon he caused to be engraven this epitaph, he had composed,

“ In the year fifteen hundred and eleven,
Noble Sir George Somers went hence to heaven ;
Whose well tried worth that held him still employ'd,
Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 'twas by Heaven's decree, that to this place,
He brought new guests and name, to mutual grace ;
At last his soul and body being to part,
He here bequeath'd his entrails and his heart.”

warm baths. By contrary winds, he was forced to the Western Islands, where he obtained great relief from the fresh fruits of the country; but he was advised not to hazard himself again in Virginia, till his health should be more perfectly restored, by a voyage to England. Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates having previously gone at different times to England, the Government was again left in the hands of Mr. Percy; a gentleman of a noble family and a good heart, but of very moderate abilities.

At the time of Lord Delaware's departure (March 28, 1611,) the Colony consisted of above two hundred people,* most of whom were in good health and well provided; but when Sir Thomas Dale arrived, in less than two months, (May 10,) with three ships, bringing an addition of three hundred people, he found the old colonists again relapsing into their former state of indolence and penury. Depending on the public store, they had neglected planting, and were amusing themselves with bowling and other diversions in the streets of James-Town. Nothing but the presence of a spirited Gov-

ernor,

* Purchas, v. 1763.

ernor, and a severe execution of his orders, could induce these people to labour. The severities exercised upon them were such as could not be warranted by the laws of England. The consequences were discontent and insurrection in some ; and servile acquiescence in others. Sir Thomas Dale was esteemed as a man, who might safely be entrusted with power ; but the laws by which he governed, and his rigorous administration of them, were the subject of bitter remonstrance and complaint.

The adventurers in England were still in a state of disappointment ; and when Sir Thomas Gates arrived without bringing any returns adequate to their expectations, the Council entered into a serious deliberation, whether to proceed in their adventure, or abandon the enterprize. Lord Delaware's arrival in England cast a deeper gloom on the melancholy prospect. But the representations of these gentlemen, delivered in Council and confirmed by oath, served to keep up their spirits, and induce them still to renew their exertions.

The substance of these representations was, that the country was rich in itself, but that time

time and industry were necessary to make its wealth profitable to the adventurers ; that it yielded abundance of valuable woods, as, oak, walnut, ash, sassafras, mulberry trees for silk-worms, live oak, cedar and fir for shipping, and that on the banks of the Potowmack there were trees large enough for masts ; that it produced a species of wild hemp for cordage, pines which yielded tar, and a vast quantity of iron ore ; besides lead, antimony, and other minerals, and several kinds of coloured earths ; that in the woods were found various balsams and other medicinal drugs, with an immense quantity of myrtle berries for wax ; that the forest and rivers harboured beavers, otters, foxes and deer, whose skins were valuable articles of commerce ; that sturgeon might be taken in the greatest plenty in five noble rivers ; and that without the bay to the northward, was an excellent fishing bank for cod of the best quality ; that the soil was favourable to the cultivation of vines, sugar-canæ, oranges, lemons, almonds and rice ; that the winters were so mild that cattle could get their food abroad, and that swine could be fatted on wild fruits ; that the Indian corn yielded a most

a most luxuriant harvest ; and in a word, that it was “one of the goodliest countries, “promising as rich entrails as any kingdom “of the earth, to which the sun is no nearer a neighbour.”*

Lord Delaware farther assured them, that notwithstanding the ill state of his health, he was so far from shrinking or giving over the enterprize, that he was willing to lay all he was worth on its success ; and to return to Virginia with all convenient expedition.†

. Sir Thomas Gates was again sent out with six ships, three hundred men, one hundred cattle, two hundred swine, and large supplies of every kind. He arrived in the beginning of August, (1611) and received the command from Sir Thomas Dale, who retired to Varina and employed himself in erecting his town, Henrico, and improving his plantation at New-Bermuda.

In the beginning of the next year, (1612) Capt. Argal, who had carried home Lord Delaware, came again to Virginia with two ships, and was again sent to the Potowmack for corn ; of which he procured fourteen hundred

* Purchas, v. 1758.

† Ibid. 1763.

hundred bushels.* There he entered into an acquaintance with Japazaws, the Sachem, an old friend of Capt. Smith, and of all the English who had come to America. In his territory, Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, was concealed. The reason of her quitting the dominion of her father is unknown. Certain it is, that he had been in a state of hostility with the Colony ever since the departure of Smith; and, that the frequent depredations and murders committed by the Indians on the English, were in the highest degree painful to this tender-hearted princess. Argal contrived a plan to get her into his possession. He bargained with Japazaws to bring her on board the ship under pretence of a visit, in company with his own wife; then dismissing the Sachem and his wife with the promised reward,† he carried Pocahontas to James-Town, where she had not been, since Capt. Smith had left the colony.

A message was sent to Powhatan to inform him that his daughter was in their hands, and that she might be restored to him on condition that he would deliver up all

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* Purchas, v. 1765.

† Stith, 128.

the English whom he held as captives, with all the arms, tools, and utensils which the Indians had stolen, and furnish the Colony with a large quantity of corn. This proposal threw him into much perplexity; for though he loved his daughter, he was loth to give so much for her redemption. After three months he sent back seven of the captives, with three unserviceable muskets, an axe, a saw, and one canoe loaded with corn. He also sent word that when they should deliver his daughter, he would give them five hundred bushels of corn, and make full satisfaction for all past injuries. No reliance could be placed on such a promise. The negociation was broken, and the King was offended. The next spring (1613) another attempt was made, accompanied with threatening on the part of the English; and stratagem on the part of the Indians. This proved equally ineffectual. At length it was announced to Powhatan, that John Rolfe, an English gentleman, was in love with Pocahontas, and had obtained her consent, and the license of the Governor, to marry her. The Prince was softened by this intelligence, and sent one of his chiefs to attend the nuptial

nuptial solemnity. After this event, Powhatan was friendly to the Colony, as long as he lived ; and a free trade was carried on between them and his people.

The visit which this lady made to England, with her husband, and her death which happened there, in the bloom of her youth, have been related in the life of Capt. Smith.* It is there observed, that "several families of note in Virginia are descended from her." The descent is thus traced by Mr. Stith.† Her son, Thomas Rolfe, was educated in England, and came over to Virginia ; where he became a man of fortune and distinction, and inherited a large tract of land which had been the property of his grandfather Powhatan. He left an only daughter, who was married to Col. Robert Bolling. His son, Major John Bolling, was father to Col. John Bolling, whose five daughters were married to Col. Richard Randolph, Col. John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge and Mr. James Murray. Such was the state of the family in 1747.

The reconciliation between Powhatan and the English, awakened the fears of the Indians.

* Vol. I. 307--310.

† Stith, 146.

dians of Chickahomony, a formidable and free people. They were governed by an assembly of their elders, or wise men, who also bore the character of Priests. They hated Powhatan, as a tyrant, and were always jealous of his design to subject them. They had taken advantage of the dissention between him and the English, to assert their liberty; but on his reconciliation, they apprehended that he might make use of the friendship of the Colony, to reduce them under his yoke. To prevent this, they sent a deputation to Sir Thomas Dale, to excuse their former ill conduct, and submit themselves to the English government. Sir Thomas was pleased with the offer, and on a day appointed went with Capt. Argal and fifty men to their village, where a peace was concluded on the following conditions.

1. That they should forever be called [Tossentessas] New Englishmen, and be true subjects of King James and his deputies.
2. That they should neither kill nor detain any of the English nor their stray cattle, but bring them home.
3. That they should always be ready to furnish the English with three hundred men, against the Spaniards or any other enemy.
4. That

4. That they should not enter any of the English settlements without previously sending in word that they were New Englishmen.

5. That every bow-man at harvest should bring into the store two measures [$2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels] of corn, as a tribute, for which he should receive a hatchet.

6. That the eight elders or chiefs should see all this performed, or receive punishment themselves ; and that for their fidelity, each one should receive a red coat, a copper chain, and a picture of King James, and should be accounted his nobleman.

Though this transaction passed whilst Sir Thomas Gates was at the head of the government, and residing within the Colony, yet nothing is said of his assenting to it, or giving any orders about it. Dale appears to have been the most active and enterprizing man ; and on Gates's return to England in the spring of 1614, the chief command devolved on him.

The experience of five years had now convinced all thinking men, among the English, that the Colony would never thrive, whilst their lands were held in common, and

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the people were maintained out of the public stores. In such a case there is no spur to exertion; the industrious person and the drone fare alike, and the former has no inducement to work for the latter. The time prescribed in the King's instructions for their trading in a common stock, and bringing all the fruits of their labour into a common store, was expired. An alteration was then contemplated, but the first measure adopted did not much mend the matter. Three acres only were allotted to each man, as a farm, on which he was to work eleven months for the store, and one month for himself; and to receive his proportion out of the common stock. Those who were employed on Sir Thomas Dale's plantation, had better terms. One month's labour only was required, and they were exempted from all farther service; and for this exemption, they paid a yearly tribute of three barrels and a half* of corn to the public store. These farms were not held by a tenure of common socage, which carries with it freedom and property; but merely by tenancy at will, which produces dependance.† It is however observed that

* A barrel of corn was four bushels.

† Chalmers, 34.

this small encouragement gave some present content, and the fear of coming to want gradually disappeared. *

About two years after, (1616) a method of granting lands in freeholds; and in lots of fifty acres, was introduced into Virginia. This quantity was allowed to each person who came to reside, or brought others to reside there. The design of it was to encourage immigration. Beside this, there were two other methods of granting lands. One was a grant of *merit*. When any person had conferred a benefit, or done a service to the Colony, it was requited by a grant of land which could not exceed two thousand acres. The other was called the adventure of the *purse*. Every person who paid twelve guineas into the Company's treasury was entitled to one hundred acres. †

After some time, this liberty of taking grants was abused; partly by the ignorance and knavery of surveyors, who often gave draughts of lands without ever actually surveying them; but describing them by natural boundaries, and allowing large measure; and partly by the indulgence of courts, in a lavish

* Stith, 132. † Stith, 139.

lavish admittance of claims. When a master of a ship came into court, and made oath that he had imported himself, with so many seamen and passengers, an order was issued granting him as many rights of fifty acres ; and the clerk had a fee for each right. The seamen at another court would make oath, that they had adventured themselves so many times into the country, and would obtain an order for as many rights, *toties quoties*. The planter who bought the imported servants, would do the same, and procure an order for as many times fifty acres. These grants, after being described by the surveyors, in the above vague and careless manner, were sold at a small price ; and, whoever was able to purchase any considerable number of them, became entitled to a vast quantity of land. By such means, the original intention of allotting a small freehold to each immigrant was frustrated ; for the adventurers themselves, who remained on the spot, had the least share of the benefit ; and the settlement of the country in convenient districts was precluded.* Land speculators became possessed of immense tracts, too large for cultivation ; and

* MS. anonymous account of Virginia, written 1697,
page 18.

and the inhabitants were scattered over a great extent of territory in remote and hazardous situations. The ill effects of this dispersion, were insecurity from the savages; a habit of indolence; an imperfect mode of cultivation; the introduction of convicts from England, and of slaves from Africa.

The same year (1616) Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, carrying with him Pocahontas, the wife of Mr. Rolfe, and several other Indians. The motive of his return, was, to visit his family and settle his private affairs, after having spent five or six years in the service of the Colony. He is characterised as an active, faithful Governor,* very careful to provide supplies of corn, rather by planting than by purchase. So much had these supplies increased under his direction, that the Colony was able to *lend* to the Indian Princes, several hundred bushels of corn, and take *mortgages* of their land in payment. He would allow no tobacco to be planted till a sufficiency of feed-corn was in the ground. He was also very assiduous in ranging and exploring the country, and became extremely delighted with its pleasant and

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* Stith, 140.

fertile appearance. He had so high an opinion of it, that he declared it equal to the best parts of Europe, if it were cultivated and inhabited by an *industrious* people.

• SINCE the foregoing sheets were printed, I have found the following brief account of Sir GEORGE SOMERS, in *Fuller's Worthies of England*, p. 282.

“George Somers, Knight, was born in or near Lyme, in Dorsetshire. He was a lamb upon land; and a lion at sea. So patient, on shore, that few could anger him; and on entering a ship, as if he had assumed a new nature, so passionate that few could please him.” [Whitchurch, where his corpse was deposited, is distant three miles from Lyme.]

XVIII. SIR SAMUEL ARGAL.

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY.

WE have no account of Capt. Argal before the year 1609, when he came to Virginia, to fish for sturgeon, and trade with the Colony. This trade was then prohibited ; but, being a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, his voyage was connived at, and the provisions and wine which he brought, were a welcome relief to the Colony. He was there when the shattered fleet, escaped from the tempest, arrived without their Commanders ; and he continued to make voyages in the service of the Colony, and for his own advantage, till he was made Deputy-Governor, under Lord Delaware.

The principal exploit in which he was engaged, was an expedition to the northern part of Virginia.* Sir Thomas Dale, having received some information of the intru-

sion

* The time of this voyage is not accurately mentioned ; but, from comparing several dates and transactions, I think (with Mr. Prince) that it must have been in the summer of 1613. Certainly it was before Argal was made Deputy-Governor, in 1617, though some writers have placed it after that period.

sion of the French and Dutch within the chartered limits of Virginia, sent Argal, ostensibly on a trading and fishing voyage to the northward; but with orders to seek for, and dispossess intruders. No account of his force is mentioned by any writer. Having visited several parts of the coast of North Virginia, and obtained the best information in his power, he arrived at the island now called Mount Desart, in the District of Maine; where two Jesuits, who had been expelled from Port Royal, by the Governor Biencourt, for their insolence,* had made a plantation, and built a fort. A French ship and bark were then lying in the harbour. Most of the people were dispersed, at their various employments, and were unprepared to receive an enemy. Argal at once attacked the vessels with musquetry, and made an easy conquest of them. One of the Jesuits was killed in attempting to level one of the ship's guns against the assailants. Argal then landed, and summoned the fort. The Commander requested time for consultation, but it was denied; on which the garrison abandoned the fort, and, by a private passage,

* See Vol. I. page 340.

fage, escaped to the woods. Argal took possession in the name of the Crown of England, and the next day the people came in, and surrendered themselves, and their commission, or patent. He treated them with politeness, giving them leave to go either to France, in the fishing vessels, which resorted to the coast, or with him to Virginia.

The other Jesuit, Father Biard, glad of an opportunity to be revenged on Biencourt, gave information of his settlement at Port Royal, and offered to pilot the vessel thither. Argal sailed across the Bay of Fundy, and, entering the harbour, landed forty men. A gun was fired from the fort, as a signal to the people who were abroad ; but Argal advanced with such rapidity, that he found the fort abandoned, and took possession. He then sailed up the river with his boats ; where he viewed their fields, their barns and mill ; these he spared ; but at his return, he destroyed the fort, and defaced the arms of the King of France.

Biencourt was at this time surveying the country at a distance ; but was called home suddenly, and requested a conference with the English Commander.* They met in a meadow,

* Purchas, v. 1808.

meadow, with a few of their followers. After an ineffectual assertion of rights,* equally claimed by both, Biencourt proposed, if he could obtain a protection from the Crown of England, and get the obnoxious Jesuit into his possession, to divide the fur trade, and disclose the mines of the country ; but Argal refused to make any treaty, alleging that his orders were only to dispossess him ; and threatening, if he should find him there again, to use him as an enemy. Whilst they were in conference, one of the natives came up to them, and in broken French, with suitable gestures, endeavoured to mediate a peace ; wondering that persons, who seemed to him, to be of one nation, should make war on each other. This affecting incident served to put them both into good humour.

As it was a time of peace between the two Crowns, the only pretext for this expedition, was the intrusion of the French into limits claimed by the English, in virtue of prior discovery. This mode of dispossessing them has been censured, as “contrary to the Law of Nations, because inconsistent with

their

* Stith, 133.

their peace."* It was, however, agreeable to the powers granted in the charter of 1609; and even the seizure of the French vessels, on board of which was a large quantity of provisions, cloathing, furniture, and trading goods, was also warranted by the same charter. There is no evidence that this transaction was either approved by the Court of England, or resented by the Crown of France; certain it is, however, that it made way for a patent, which King James gave to Sir William Alexander, in 1621, by which he granted him the whole territory of Acadia, by the name of Nova-Scotia; and yet the French continued their occupancy.

On his return toward Virginia, with his prizes, Argal visited the settlement which the Dutch had made at Hudson's River, near the spot where Albany is now built, and demanded possession; alleging that Hudson being an English subject, though in the service of Holland, could not alienate the lands which he had discovered; which were claimed by the Crown of England, and granted by Charter to the Company of Virginia. The Dutch Governor, Hendrick Christiaens, being

* Chalmers, 82.

ing unable to make any resistance, quietly submitted himself and his Colony to the Crown of England; and was permitted to remain there. But on the arrival of a reinforcement the next year; they built another fort, on the south end of the Island Manhattan, where the city of New-York now stands; and held the country for many years, under a grant from the States-General, by the name of New Netherlands.

The next spring (1614) Argal went to England, and two years after, Sir Thomas Dale followed him, leaving GEORGE YEARDLEY to govern the Colony in his absence. It had been a grand object with Dale to discourage the planting of tobacco; but his successor, in compliance with the humour of the people, indulged them in cultivating it, in preference to corn. When the Colony was in want of bread, Yeardley sent to the Indians of Chickahomony for their tribute, as promised by the treaty made with Dale. They answered, that they had paid his master; but that they had no orders, nor any inclination to obey him. Yeardley drew out one hundred of his best men, and went against them. They received him in a war-like

like posture ; and after much threatening on both sides, Yeardley ordered his men to fire. Twelve of the natives were killed, and as many were made prisoners, of whom two were Elders or Senators. For their ransom, one hundred bushels of corn were paid, in addition to the tribute. Three boats were loaded for James-Town, one of which was overset in the passage, and eleven men with her whole cargo were lost. The natives were so awed by this chastisement, that they supplied the Colony with such provisions as they could spare from their own stock, or procure by hunting ; and being thus supplied, the Colonists gave themselves chiefly to the planting of tobacco.

In 1717, Captain ARGAL was appointed Deputy-Governor of the Colony under Lord Delaware, and Admiral of the adjacent seas. When he arrived, in May, he found the palisades broken, the church fallen down, and the well of fresh water spoiled ; but, the market-square and the streets of James-Town were planted with tobacco,* and the people were dispersed, wherever they could find room, to cultivate that precious weed ;

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* Stith, 146.

the value of which was supposed to be much augmented by a new mode of cure, drying it on lines, rather than fermenting it in heaps. The author of this discovery was a Mr. Lambert ; and the effect of it was a great demand from England for lines, which afterward became a capital article of traffic.

To counteract the ill effects of Yeardley's indulgence, Argal revived the severe discipline which was grounded on the martial laws, framed by his patron, Sir Thomas Smith ; a specimen of which may be seen in the following edicts. He fixed the advance on goods imported from England, at twenty-five per cent. and the price of tobacco at three shillings per pound :* the penalty for transgressing this regulation was three years slavery. No person was allowed to fire a gun, except in his own defence, against an enemy, till a new supply of ammunition should arrive ; on penalty of one year's slavery. Absence from church on Sundays and holidays, was punished by laying the offender neck and heels, for one whole night, or by one week's slavery ; the second offence,

by

* Stith, 147.

by one month's; and the third by one year's slavery. Private trade with the savages, or teaching them the use of arms, was punishable by death.

These and similar laws were executed with such rigour, as to render the Deputy-Governor odious to the Colony. They had entertained a hope of deliverance, by the expected arrival of Lord Delaware, who sailed from England for Virginia (April, 1618) in a large ship, containing two hundred people. After touching at the Western Islands, a succession of contrary winds, and bad weather protracted the voyage to sixteen weeks, during which time, many of the people fell sick, and about thirty died, among whom was Lord Delaware. This fatal news was known first in Virginia; but the report of Argal's injurious conduct had gone to England, and made a deep impression, to his disadvantage, on the minds of his best friends. Besides a great number of wrongs to particular persons, he was charged with converting to his own use, what remained of the public stores; with depredation and waste of the revenues of the Company; and with many offences in matters of state and government.

government. At first, the Company were so alarmed, as to think of an application to the crown, for redress; but on farther consideration, they wrote a letter of reprobation to him, and another of complaint to Lord Delaware, whom they supposed to be at the head of the Colony, requesting that Argal might be sent to England, to answer the charges laid against him.

Both these letters fell into Argal's hands. Convinced that his time was short, he determined to make the most of it, for his own interest. Having assumed the care of his Lordship's estate, in Virginia, he converted the labour of the tenants, and the produce of the land to his own use. But Edward Brewster, who had been appointed overseer of the plantation, by his Lordship's order before his death, endeavoured to withdraw them from Argal's service, and employ them for the benefit of the estate. When he threatened one, who refused to obey him, the fellow made his complaint to the Governor: Brewster was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death, in consequence of the aforesaid laws of Sir Thomas Smith. Sensible of the extreme severity

severity of these laws; the court which had passed the sentence, accompanied by the clergy, went in a body to the Governor, to intercede for Brewster's life; which, with much difficulty, they obtained, on this condition; that he should quit Virginia, never more to return; and should give his oath, that he would, neither in England, nor elsewhere, say or do any thing to the dis-honour of the Governor. On his going to England, he was advised to appeal to the Company; and the prosecution of this appeal, added to the odium which Argal had incurred, determined them to send over a new Governor, to examine the complaints and accusations on the spot.

The person chosen to execute this commission, was YEARDLEY, his rival, who, on this occasion, was knighted, and appointed Governor-General of the Colony, where he arrived in the Spring of 1619.*

The Earl of Warwick, who was Argal's friend, and partner in trade, had taken care to give him information of what was doing; and to dispatch a small vessel, which arrived before the new Governor, and carried off

Argal

* Stith, 154.

Argal with all his effects. By this manœuvre, and by virtue of his partnership with the Earl, he not only escaped the intended examination, in Virginia, but secured the greater part of his property, and defrauded the Company of that restitution which they had a right to expect.

The character of Capt. Argal, like that of most who were concerned in the colonization and government of Virginia, is differently drawn. On the one hand, he is spoken of as a good mariner, a civil gentleman, a man of public spirit, active, industrious, and careful to provide for the people, and keep them constantly employed.* On the other hand, he is described as negligent of the public business, seeking only his own interest, rapacious, passionate, arbitrary, and cruel; pushing his unrighteous gains, by all means of extortion and oppression. Mr. Stith,† who, from the best information which he could obtain, at the distance of more than a century, by searching the public records of the Colony, and the journals of the Company, pronounces him "a man of good sense, of great industry and resolution," and says, that

"when

* Smith and Purchas.

† Stith, 229.

"when the Company warned him peremptorily, to exhibit his accounts, and make answer to such things as they had charged against him, he so foiled and perplexed all their proceedings, and gave them so much trouble and annoyance, that they were never able to bring him to any account or punishment."

Nothing more is now known of him, but that after quitting Virginia, he was employed in 1620, to command a ship of war, in an expedition against the Algerines;* and that in 1623, he was knighted by King James.

About the same time that Lord Delaware died at sea, the great Indian Prince, Powhatan, died at his seat in Virginia, (April, 1618.)† He was a person of excellent natural talents, penetrating and crafty, and a complete master of all the arts of savage policy;‡ but totally void of truth, justice, and magnanimity.§ He was succeeded by his second brother Opitchapan; who, being decrepid and inactive,

* Stith, 184.

† The same year is also memorable for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, who may be considered as the founder of the Colony of Virginia. See Vol. I. p. 221.

‡ Smith, 125.

§ Stith, 154.

tive, was soon obscured by the superior abilities and ambition of his younger brother Opechancanough. Both of them renewed and confirmed the peace which Powhatan had made with the Colony ; and Opechancanough finally engrossed the whole power of government ; for the Indians do not so much regard the order of succession, as brilliancy of talents, and intrepidity of mind in their chiefs.

To ingratiate themselves with this Prince and attach him more closely to their interest, the Colony built an house for him, after the English mode. With this, he was so much pleased, that he kept the keys continually in his hands, opening and shutting the doors many times in a day and showing the machinery of the locks, to his own people and to strangers. In return for this favour, he gave liberty to the English, to seat themselves, at any places, on the shores of the rivers, where the natives had no villages, and entered into a farther treaty with them for the discovery of mines and for mutual friendship and defence.* This treaty was at the request of Opechancanough engraven on a brass plate,

* Purchas, v. 1786, 8.

plate, and fastened to one of the largest oaks, that it might be always in view, and held in perpetual remembrance.

Yeardley, being rid of the trouble of calling Argal to account, applied himself to the business of his government. The first thing which he did was to add six new members to the Council, Francis West, Nathaniel Powel, John Pory, John Ralfe, William Wickham, and Samuel Maycock. The next was to publish his intention to call a General Assembly, the privileges and powers of which were defined in his Commission. He also granted to the oldest planters a discharge from all service to the Colony, but such as was voluntary, or obligatory by the laws and customs of nations ; with a confirmation of all their estates real and personal to be holden in the same manner as by English subjects. Finding a great scarcity of corn, he made some amends for his former error by promoting the cultivation of it. The first year of his administration (1619) was remarkable for very great crops of wheat and Indian corn, and for a very great mortality of the people ; not less than 300 of whom died.

In the month of July of this year; the first General Assembly of the Colony of Virginia met at James-Town.* The deputies were chosen by the townships or boroughs, no counties being at that time formed. From this circumstance the Lower House of Assembly was always afterward called the House of Burgesses, till the revolution in 1776. In this assembly, the Governor, Council and Burgesses sat in one house; and jointly "debated all matters, thought expedient for the good of the Colony." The laws then enacted were of the nature of local regulations, and were transmitted to England for the probation of the Treasurer and Company. It is said that they were judiciously drawn up; but no vestige of them now remains.

Thus, at the expiration of twelve years from their settlement, the Virginians first enjoyed the privilege of a Colonial legislature, in which they were represented by persons of their own election.† They received as a favour,

* Beverley (p. 35) says that the first assembly was called in 1620. But Stith, who had more accurately searched the records, says that the first was in 1619, and the second in 1620. P. 160.

† Chalmers, 44.

favour, what they might have claimed as a right; and with minds depressed by the arbitrary system under which they had been held, thanked the Company for this favour, and begged them to reduce to a compendium, with his Majesty's approbation, the laws of England suitable for Virginia; giving this as a reason, that it was not fit for subjects to be governed by any laws, but those which received an authority from their Sovereign.

It seems to have been a general sentiment among these Colonists, not to make Virginia the place of their permanent residence, but after having acquired a fortune, by planting and trade, to return to England.* For this reason, most of them were destitute of families, and had no natural attachment to the country. To remedy this material defect, Sir Edwin Sandys the new Treasurer, proposed to the Company to send over a freight of young women, to make wives for the planters. This proposal, with several others made by that eminent statesman, was received with universal applause; and the success answered their expectations. Ninety girls, "young and uncorrupt," were sent over at one time;†

(1620)

* Stith, 165.

† Purchas, v. 1783.

(1620) and sixty more, “handsome and well recommended” at another. (1621) These were soon blessed with the object of their wishes. The price of a wife, at first, was one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco; but as the number became scarce, the price was increased to one hundred and fifty pounds, the value of which in money was three shillings per pound.* By a subsequent act of assembly, it was ordained, that “the price of a wife should have the precedence of all other debts, in recovery and payment, because, of all kinds of merchandise, this was the most desirable.”†

To this salutary project of the Company, King James was pleased to add another, which he signified to the Treasurer by a letter;‡ commanding them to send to Virginia, one hundred dissolute persons, convicted of crimes, who should be delivered to them by the Knight Marshal. The season of the year (November) was unfavourable for transportation; but so peremptory was the King’s command, and so submissive the temper of the Company, that they became bound for the subsistence of these wretches till they could

* Chalmers, 46.

† Stith, 197.

‡ Stith, 167.

could sail, which was not till February. The expense of this equipment was £4,000.

On this transaction, Mr. Stith, who takes every opportunity to expose the weak and arbitrary government of King James, makes the following remarks. " Those who know with how high a hand this King sometimes carried it even with his Parliaments, will not be surprised to find him thus unmercifully insult a private company, and load them against all law, with the maintenance and extraordinary expense of transporting such persons as he thought proper to banish. And I cannot but remark, how early that custom arose of transporting loose and dissolute persons to Virginia, as a place of punishment and disgrace ; which though originally designed for the advancement and increase of the Colony, yet has certainly proved a great hindrance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another Siberia, fit only for the reception of malefactors and the vilest of the people. So that few have been induced willingly to transport themselves to such a place ; and our younger sisters, the Northern Colonies, have accordingly profited

profited thereby. For this is one cause that they have outstripped us so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in the goodness and frequency of their towns and cities."

In the same year (1620) the merchandise of human flesh, was further augmented, by the introduction of negroes from Africa.* A Dutch ship brought twenty of them for sale; and the Virginians, who had but just emerged from a state of vassalage themselves, began to be the owners and masters of slaves.

The principal commodity produced in Virginia besides corn, was tobacco; an article of luxury much in demand in the north of Europe. Great had been the difficulties attending this trade, partly from the jealousy of the Spaniards, who cultivated it in their American Colonies; partly from the obsequiousness of James to that nation; and partly from his own squeamish aversion to tobacco, against the use of which, in his princely wisdom, he had written a book.†

The

* Beverley, p. 35.

† This book is entitled "A Counterblast to Tobacco," and is printed in a folio volume of the works of King James. In this curious work he compares the smoke of tobacco to the smoke of the bottomless pit; and says it is only proper to regale the devil after dinner.

The Virginia Company themselves were opposed to its cultivation, and readily admitted various projects for encouraging other productions, of more immediate use and benefit to mankind. As the country naturally yielded mulberry-trees and vines, it was thought that silk and wine might be manufactured to advantage. To facilitate these projects, eggs of the silk-worm were procured from the southern countries of Europe; books on the subject were translated from foreign languages; persons skilled in the management of silk-worms and the cultivation of vines were engaged; and, to crown all, a royal order from King James, enclosed in a letter from the Treasurer and Council, was sent over to Virginia, with high expectations of success. But no exertions nor authority could prevail, to make the cultivation of tobacco yield to that of silk and wine; and after the trade of the Colony was laid open and the Dutch had free access to their ports, the growth of tobacco received such encouragement, as to become the grand staple of the Colony.

At this time, the Company in England was divided into two parties; the Earl of Warwick

wick was at the head of one, and the Earl of Southampton of the other. The former was the least in number, but had the ear and support of the King ; and their virulence was directed against Yeardley, who had intercepted a packet from his own Secretary, Pory, containing the proofs of Argal's misconduct, which had been prepared to be used against him at his trial ; but which the Secretary had been bribed to convey to his close friend the Earl of Warwick. The Governor, being a man of a mild and gentle temper, was so overcome with the opposition and menaces of the faction, which were publickly known in the Colony, that his authority was weakened, his spirits dejected, and his health impaired to that degree that he became unfit for business, and requested a dismission from the cares of government. His commission expired in November, 1621, but he continued in the Colony, was a member of the Council, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of the people.

During this short administration, many new settlements were made on James and York rivers, and the planters being supplied with wives and servants, began to think themselves

themselves at home, and to take pleasure in cultivating their lands; but they neglected to provide for their defence, placing too great confidence in the continuance of that tranquillity which they had long enjoyed by their treaty with the Indians.

XIX.

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XIX. SIR FRANCIS WYAT.

WHEN Sir George Yeardley requested a dismission from the burden of government, the Earl of Southampton recommended to the Company Sir Francis Wyat, as his successor. He was a young gentleman of a good family, in Ireland,* who, on account of his education, fortune and integrity, was every way equal to the place, and was accordingly chosen.†

He received from the Company a set of instructions, which were intended to be a permanent directory for the Governor and Council of the Colony. In these it was recommended to them, to provide for the service of God, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England ; to administer justice according to the laws of England ; to protect the natives, and cultivate peace with them ; to educate their children ; and to endeavour their civilization and conversion ; to encourage industry ; to suppress gaming, intemperance, and excess in apparel ; to give no offence to any other prince,

* Stith, 187. † Hazard, Vol. I. 232. ‡ Stith, 195.

prince, State, or people ; to harbour no pirates ; to build fortifications ; to cultivate corn, wine, and silk ; to search for minerals, dyes, guins, and medicinal drugs ; and to “ draw off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco.”

Immediately on Wyat's arrival, (October, 1621) he sent a special message to Opitchapan and Opechancanough, by Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of note in the Colony, and a great friend to the Indians, to confirm the former treaties of peace and friendship. They both expressed great satisfaction at the arrival of the new Governor ; and Mr. Thorpe imagined that he could perceive an uncommon degree of religious sensibility in Opechancanough. That artful chief so far imposed on the credulity of this good gentleman, as to persuade him that he acknowledged his own religion to be wrong ; that he desired to be instructed in the Christian doctrine, and that he wished for a more friendly and familiar intercourse with the English. He also confirmed a former promise of sending a guide to shew them some mines above the falls. But all these pretences served only to conceal a design which

he

he had long meditated, to destroy the whole English Colony.

The peace which had subsisted since the marriage of Pocahontas had lulled the English into security, and disposed them to extend their plantations along the banks of the rivers, as far as the Potowmack,* in situations too remote from each other. Their houses were open and free to the natives, who became acquainted with their manner of living, their hours of eating, of labour and repose, the use of their arms and tools, and frequently borrowed their boats, for the convenience of fishing and fowling, and to pass the rivers. This familiarity was pleasing to the English, as it indicated a spirit of moderation, which had been always recommended, by the Company in England, to the planters; and, as it afforded a favourable symptom of the civilization and conversion of the natives; but by them, or their leaders, it was designed to conceal the most sanguinary intentions.

In the spring of the next year, (1622) an opportunity offered, to throw off the mask of friendship, and kindle their secret enmity into a blaze. Among the natives who frequently

* Beverley, 39.

ly visited the English, was a tall, handsome, young chief, renowned for courage and success in war, and excessively fond of finery in dress. His Indian name was Nematanow ; but by the English he was called, Jack of the Feather. Coming to the store of one Morgan, he there viewed several toys and ornaments, which were very agreeable to the Indian taste ; and persuaded Morgan to carry them to Pamunky, where he assured him of an advantageous traffic. Morgan consented to go with him ; but was murdered by the way.

In a few days, Nematanow came again to the store, with Morgan's cap on his head ; and being interrogated by two stout lads, who attended there, what was become of their master, he answered that he was dead. The boys seized him, and endeavoured to carry him before a magistrate ; but his violent resistance, and the insolence of his language, so provoked them, that they shot him. The wound proved mortal ; and when dying, he earnestly requested of the boys, that the manner of his death might be concealed from his countrymen, and that he might be privately buried among the English.

As

As soon as this transaction was known, Opechancanough demanded satisfaction ; but being answered that the retaliation was just, he formed a plan for a general massacre of the English, and appointed Friday, the twenty-second day of March, for its execution ; but he dissembled his resentment to the last moment. Parties of Indians were distributed through the Colony, to attack every plantation, at the same hour of the day, when the men should be abroad and at work. On the evening before, and on the morning of that fatal day, the Indians came as usual to the houses of the English, bringing game and fish to sell, and sat down with them to breakfast. So general was the combination, and so deep the plot, that about one hour before noon, they fell on the people in the fields and houses ; and, with their own tools and weapons, killed, indiscriminately, persons of all ages, sexes and characters ; inhumanly mangling their dead bodies, and triumphing over them, with all the expressions of frantic joy.

Where any resistance was made, it was generally successful. Several houses were defended, and some few of the assailants slain,

One

One of Captain Smith's old soldiers, Nathaniel Causie, though wounded, split the skull of an Indian, and put his whole party to flight. Several other parties were dispersed by the firing of a single gun, or by the presenting of a gun, even in the hands of a woman.

James-Town was preserved by the fidelity of Chanco,* a young Indian convert, who lived with Richard Pace, and was treated by him as a son. The brother of this Indian came to lie with him, the night before the massacre, and revealed to him the plot, urging him to kill his master, as he intended to do by his own. As soon as he was gone in the morning, Chanco gave notice of what was intended, to his master ; who, having secured his own house, gave the alarm to his neighbours, and sent an express to James-Town.

Three hundred and forty-nine people† fell in this general massacre ; of which number,

six

* Stith, 212.

† The number slain at the several plantations ; from Captain Smith's History, page 149.

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. At Captain John Berkley's plantation, seated at the Falling Creek, sixty-six miles from James City, himself and twenty-one others, | 22 |
| 2. At | |

six were members of the Council. None of these were more lamented than Mr. George Thorpe. This gentleman was one of the best friends of the Indians, and had been earnestly concerned in the business of instructing

2.	At Master Thomas Sheffield's plantation, three miles from the Falling Creek, himself and twelve others,	13
3.	At Henrico Islands, two miles from Sheffield's plantation,	6
4.	Slain of the College people, twenty miles from Henrico,	17
5.	At Charles City, and of Captain Smith's men,	5
6.	At the next adjoining plantation,	8
7.	At William Farrar's house,	10
8.	At Brickley Hundred, fifty miles from Charles City, Master George Thorpe and ten more,	11
9.	At Westover, a mile from Brickley,	2
10.	At Master John West's plantation,	2
11.	At Captain Nathaniel West's plantation,	2
12.	At Richard Owen's house, himself and six more,	7
13.	At Lieutenant Gibbs's plantation,	12
14.	At Master Owen Macar's house, himself and three more,	4
15.	At Martin's Hundred, seven miles from James City,	73
16.	At another place,	7
17.	At Edward Bonit's plantation,	50
18.	At Master Waters's house, himself and four more,	5
19.	At Apamatuck's River, at Master Perce's plantation, five miles from the College,	4
20.	At Master Maycock's dividend, Captain Samuel Maycock and four more,	5

structing and evangelizing them. He had left a handsome estate, and an honourable employment in England, and was appointed chief Manager of a plantation and a seminary, designed for the maintenance and education of young Indians, in Virginia. He had been remarkably kind and generous to them ; and it was by his exertion, that the house was built, in which Opechananough took so much pleasure. Just before his death, he was warned of his danger, by one of his servants, who immediately made his escape ;*

but

21. At Flowerda Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's plantation,	6
22. On the other side opposite to it,	7
23. At Master Swinhoe's house, himself and seven more,	8
24. At Master William Bickar's house, himself and four more,	5
25. At Weanoock, of Sir George Yeardley's people,	21
26. At Powel Brooke, Captain Nathaniel Powel and twelve more,	13
27. At Southampton Hundred,	5
28. At Martin's Brandon Hundred,	7
29. At Captain Henry Spilman's house,	2
30. At Ensign Spence's house,	5
31. At Master Thomas Perse's House, by Mulberry Island, himself and four more,	5
<hr/>	
The whole number,	349

* Smith, 145.

but Mr. Thorpe would not believe that they intended him any harm, and thus fell a victim to their fury. His corpse was mangled and abused, in a manner too shocking to be related.

One effect of this massacre was the ruin of the iron-works, at Falling-Creek, where the destruction was so complete, that, of twenty-four people, only a boy and girl escaped by hiding themselves.* The superintendant of this work had discovered a vein of lead ore, which he kept to himself; but made use of it, to supply himself and his friends with shot. The knowledge of this was lost by his death for many years. It was again found by Colonel Byrd, and again lost. The place was a third time found by John Chiswell; and the mine is now, or has been lately, wrought to advantage.

Another consequence of this fatal event, was an order of the Government, to draw together the remnant of the people into a narrow compass. Of eighty plantations, all were abandoned but six,† which lay contiguous,

* Beverley, 43.

† Purchas, v. 1792.

ous, at the lower part of James River.* The owners or overseers of three or four others, refused to obey the order, and entrenched themselves, mounting cannon for their defence.†

The next effect was a ferocious war. The Indians were hunted like beasts of prey, and as many as could be found were destroyed. But as they were very expert in hiding themselves and escaping the pursuit, the English resolved to dissemble with them in their own way.‡ To this they were further impelled by the fear of famine. As seed-time came on, both sides thought it necessary to relax their hostile operations and attend to the business of planting. Peace was then offered by the English, and accepted by the Indians;

* The six plantations, to which the Government ordered the people to retire, were :

Shirley Hundred,	Paspiha,
Flowerda Hundred,	Kiuptan,
James-Town,	Southampton.

† Those persons who refused to obey the order, were :
Mr. Edward Hill, at Elizabeth City.

Mr. Samuel Jordan, at Jordan's Point.

Mr. Daniel Gookin, at Newport News.

Mrs. Proctor, a gentlewoman of an heroic spirit, defended her plantation a month, till the officers of the Colony obliged her to abandon it.

‡ Keith, 139.

dians; but, when the corn began to grow, the English suddenly attacked the Indians in their fields, killed many of them, and destroyed their corn. The summer was such a season of confusion that a sufficiency of food could not be obtained, and the people were reduced to great straits.

The unrelenting severity with which this war was prosecuted by the Virginians against the Indians, transmitted mutual abhorrence to the posterity of both; and procured to the former the name of "the long knife," by which they are still distinguished in the hieroglyphic language of the natives.

Though a general permission of residence had been given by Powhatan, and his successors, to the Colonists; yet they rather affected to consider the country as acquired by discovery or conquest;* and both these ideas were much favoured by the English court.†

The

* Chalmers, 39, 68.

† Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, (p. 153) observes, "That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchases, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country, we know has been acquired altogether

The civilization of the natives was a very desirable object ; but those who knew them best, thought that they could not be civilized till they were first subdued ;* or till their Priests were destroyed.†

It is certain that many pious and charitable persons in England were very warmly interested in their conversion. Money and books, church plate and other furniture were liberally contributed. A college was in a fair way of being founded ; to the support of which, lands were appropriated and brought into a state of cultivation. Some few instances of the influence of gospel principles on the savage mind, particularly Pocahontas and Chanco, gave sanguine hope of success ; and even the massacre did not abate the ardor of that hope, in the minds of those who had indulged it. The experience of almost two centuries has not extinguished it ; and, however discouraging the prospect, it is best for the cause of virtue that it never should be abandoned.

er by purchases, made in the most unexceptionable form." A more particular account of the earliest purchases, is desirable, specifying the date, the extent and the compensation.

* Smith, 147.

† Stith, 233.

abandoned. There may be some fruit, which though not splendid nor extensive, yet may correspond with the genius of a religion, which is compared, by its Author, to “leaven hid in the meal.” The power of evangelical truth on the human mind, must not be considered as void of reality, because not exposed to public observation.

When the news of the massacre was carried to England, the Governor and Colony were considered as subjects of blame, by those very persons who had always enjoined them to treat the Indians with mildness. However, ships were dispatched with a supply of provisions, to which the Corporation of London as well as several persons of fortune largely contributed. The King *lent* them twenty barrels of powder, and a quantity of *unserviceable* arms from the Tower, and *promised* to levy four hundred soldiers, in the several Counties of England, for their protection; but though frequently solicited by the Company in England, and the Colony in Virginia, he never could be induced to fulfil this promise.

The calamities which had befallen the Colony, and the dissensions which had agitated the

the Company, became such topics of complaint, and were so represented to the King and his Privy Council, that a commission was issued, under the great seal, to Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Gofton, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir William Pitt, Sir Henry Bouchier, and Sir Henry Spilman, or any four of them, to inquire into all matters respecting Virginia, from the beginning of its settlement.

To enable them to carry on this inquiry, all the books and papers of the Company were ordered into the custody of the Commissioners ; their Deputy-Treasurer was arrested and confined ; and all letters which should arrive from the Colony, were, by the King's command, to be intercepted. This was a very discouraging introduction to the business, and plainly showed not only the arbitrary disposition of the King ; but the turn which would be given to the inquiry. On the arrival of a ship from Virginia,* her packets were seized, and laid before the Privy Council.

The transactions of these Commissioners were always kept concealed ; but the result
of

* Stith, 298.

of them was made known by an order of Council, (October, 1623) which set forth,
“That his Majesty having taken into his
“princely consideration the distressed state of
“Virginia, occasioned by the ill government
“of the Company, had resolved by a new
“Charter, to appoint a Governor and twelve
“Assistants to reside in England ; and a
“Governor with twelve Assistants to reside
“in Virginia ; the former to be nominated
“by his Majesty in Council, the latter to be
“nominated by the Governor and Assistants
“in England, and to be approved by the
“King in Council ; and that all proceedings
“should be subject to the royal direction.”

The Company was ordered to assemble and resolve whether they would submit, and resign their charter ; and in default of such submission, the King signified his determination to proceed for recalling their charter, in such manner as to him should seem meet.

This arbitrary mandate so astonished the Company, that when they met, it was read over three times, as if they had distrusted their own ears.* Then a long silence ensued ; and when the question was called for,

twenty-six

* Stith, 304.

twenty-six only voted for a surrender, and one hundred and twelve declared against it.

These proceedings gave such an alarm to all who were concerned in the plantation or trade of the Colony, that some ships which were preparing to sail were stopped; but the King ordered them to proceed; declaring that the change of government would injure no man's property. At the same time he thought it proper to appoint Commissioners to go to Virginia, and inquire into the state of the Colony. These were Sir John Harvey, afterward Governor, John Pory, who had been Secretary, Abraham Percy, Samuel Matthews, and John Jefferson.* The subjects of their inquiry were "How many plantations there be; which of them be public and which private; what people, men women and children, there be in each plantation; what fortifications, or what place is best to be fortified; what houses and how many; what cattle, arms, ammunition and ordnance; what boats and barges; what bridges and public works; how the Colony standeth in respect of the savages; what hopes may be truly conceived of the planta-

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tion

* Chalmers, 77.

tion and the means to attain these hopes." The Governor and Council of Virginia were ordered to afford their best assistance to the Commissioners; but no copy of their instructions was delivered to them.

After the departure of the Commissioners, a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued by the Court of King's Bench against the Company (November 10, 1623) and upon the representation of the Attorney-General that no defence could be made by the Company without their books and their Deputy-Treasurer, the latter was liberated and the former were restored. The re-delivery of them to the Privy Council was protracted, till the Clerks of the Company had taken copies of them.*

In the beginning of 1624 the Commissioners arrived in Virginia, and a General Assembly was called, not at their request; for they kept all their designs as secret as possible. But notwithstanding all the precautions

* These copies were deposited in the hands of the Earl of Southampton; and after his death, which happened in 1624, descended to his son. After his death in 1667, they were purchased of his Executors for sixty guineas, by Col. Byrd, of Virginia, then in England. From these copies, and from the Records of the Colony, Mr. Stith compiled his *History of Virginia*; which extends no further than the year 1624.

tions which had been taken, to prevent the Colony from getting any knowledge of the proceedings in England, they were by this time, well informed of the whole, and had copies of several papers which had been exhibited against them.

The Assembly, which met on the 14th of February,* drew up answers to what had been alleged, in a spirited and masterly style; and appointed John Porentis, one of the Council, to go to England as their agent, to solicit the cause of the Colony. This gentleman unhappily died on his passage; but their petition to the King and their address to the Priyy Council were delivered, in which they requested that in case of a change of the Government they might not again fall into the power of Sir Thomas Smith, or his confidents; that the Governors sent over to them might not have absolute authority, but be restrained to act by advice of Council; and above all, that they might "have the liberty of General Assemblies, than which nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and utility." They complained that the short continuance of their
Governors

* Stith, 305.

Governors had been very disadvantageous. “The first year they were raw and inexperienced, and generally in ill health, through a change of climate. The second, they began to understand something of the affairs of the Colony; and the third, they were preparing to return.”

To the honour of Governor Wyat, it is observed, that he was very active, and joined most cordially in preparing these petitions;* and was very far from desiring absolute and inordinate power, either in himself or in future Governors.

The Assembly was very unanimous in their proceedings, and intended, like the Commissioners, to keep them secret. But Pory, who had long been versed in the arts of corruption, found means to obtain copies of all their acts. Edward Sharples, Clerk of the Council, was afterward convicted of bribery and breach of trust; for which he was sentenced to the pillory, and lost one of his ears.

The Commissioners, finding that things were going in the Assembly contrary to their wishes, resolved to open some of their powers with a view to intimidate them; and then endeavoured

* Stith, 315.

endeavoured to draw them into an explicit submission to the revocation of their Charter; But the Assembly had the wisdom and firmness to evade the proposal, by requesting to see the whole extent of their commission. This being denied, they answered, that when the surrender of their Charter should be demanded by authority, it would be time enough to make a reply.

The laws enacted by this Assembly are the oldest which are to be found in the records of the Colony. They contain many wise and good provisions.* One of them is equivalent to a *Bill of Rights*, defining the powers of the Governor, Council, and Assembly; and the privileges of the people, with regard to taxes, burdens and personal services.† The twenty-second of March, the day of the massacre,

* Stith, 319—322.

† At this time women were scarce and much in request, and it was common for a woman to connect herself with more than one man at a time; by which means great uneasiness arose between private persons, and much trouble to the Government. It was therefore ordered “That every minister should give notice in his church, that what man or woman soever, should use any word or speech, tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time, although not precise and legal, should either undergo corporal punishment, or pay a fine, according to the quality of the offender.” Stith, 322.

massacre, was ordered to be solemnized as a day of devotion.

Whilst these things were doing in the Colony, its enemies in England were endeavouring, by means of some persons who had returned from Virginia, to injure the character of the Governor; but he was sufficiently vindicated, by the testimony of other persons, who asserted, on their own knowledge, the uprightness of his proceedings, and declared upon their honour and conscience, that they esteemed him just and sincere, free from all corruption and private views. As he had requested leave to quit the Government at the expiration of his Commission, the Company took up the matter; and when Sir Samuel Argal was nominated as a candidate in competition with him, there appeared but eight votes in his favour, and sixty-nine for the continuance of Wyat.

The Parliament assembled in February, 1624, and the Company finding themselves too weak to resist the encroachments of a Prince, who had engrossed almost the whole power of the State, applied to the House of Commons for protection. The King was highly offended at this attempt, and sent a prohibitory

prohibitory letter to the Speaker, which was no sooner read, than the Company's petition was ordered to be withdrawn.

However singular this interference on the one hand, and compliance on the other may now appear, it was usual at that time for the King to impose his mandates, and for the Commons,* who knew not the extent of their own rights, to obey ; though not without the animadversions of the most intelligent and zealous members. The royal prerogative was held inviolably sacred, till the indiscretions of a subsequent reign reduced it to an object of contempt. In this instance, the Commons, however passive in their submission to the Crown, yet shewed their regard to the interest of the complainants as well as of the nation, by petitioning the King that no tobacco should be imported, but of the growth of the Colonies.† To this James consented, and a Proclamation was issued accordingly.

The Commissioners, on their return from Virginia, reported to the King,‡ "that the people sent to inhabit there were most of them, by sickness, famine and massacres of the

savages,

* Chalmers, 66.

† Hazard, I. 198.

‡ Hazard I. 190.

savages, dead ; that those who were living were in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages ; but that the country itself appeared to be fruitful, and to those who had resided there some time, healthy ; that if industry were used, it would produce divers staple commodities, though for sixteen years past, it had yielded few or none ; that this neglect must fall on the Governors and Company, who had power to direct the plantations ; that the said plantations were of great importance, and would remain a lasting monument to posterity of his Majesty's most gracious and happy government, if the same were prosecuted to those ends for which they were first undertaken ; that if the provisions and instructions of the first Charter (1606) had been pursued, much better effect had been produced than by the alteration thereof into so *popular* a course, and among so many hands as it then was, which caused much confusion and contention."

On this report, the King, by a proclamation, (July 15) suppressed the meetings of the Company ; and, till a more perfect settlement could be made, ordered a Committee of the Privy Council to sit every Thursday, at the house

house of Sir Thomas Smith for conducting the affairs of the Colony.* Soon after, viz. in Trinity term, the *Quo Warranto* was brought to trial, in the Court of King's Bench; judgment was given against the Company, and the Charter was vacated.

This was the end of the Virginia Company, one of the most public spirited societies which had ever been engaged in such an undertaking.† Mr. Stith, who had searched all their records and papers, concludes his history by observing that they were “gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested views, willing to spend much of their time and money, and did actually expend more than £100,000 of their own fortunes, without any prospect of present gain or retribution, in advancing an enterprize which they conceived to be of very great consequence to their country.”

No sooner was the Company dissolved, than James issued a new Commission (August 26) for the government of the Colony. In it, the history of the plantation was briefly recited. Sir Francis Wyat was continued Governor, with eleven Assistants or Counsel-

N lors,

* Stith, 329.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 330.

lors, Francis West, Sir George Yeardley, George Sandys, Roger Smith, Ralph Hamor, who had been of the former Council,* with the addition of John Martin, John Harvey, Samuel Matthews, Abraham Percy, Isaac Madison, and William Clayborne. The Governor and Council were appointed during the King's pleasure, with authority to rule the Colony, and punish offenders, as fully as any Governor and Council might have done. No Assembly was mentioned or allowed, because the King supposed, agreeable to the report of the Commissioners, that "so popular a course" was one cause of the late calamities; and he hated the existence of such a body within any part of his dominions, especially when they were disposed to inquire into their own rights, and redress the grievances of the people.

After the death of James, which happened on the 27th of March, 1625, his son and successor, Charles, issued a proclamation,† expressing his resolution, that the Colony and Government of Virginia should depend immediately on himself, without the intervention of any commercial company. He also followed

* Hazard, I. 189.

† Ibid, I. 203.

followed the example of his father, in making no mention of a Representative Assembly, in any of his subsequent commissions.

Governor Wyat, on the death of his father, Sir George Wyat,* having returned to Ireland, the government of Virginia fell again into the hands of Sir George Yeardley. But, his death happening within the year 1626, he was succeeded by Sir John Harvey.

* Hazard, I. 231, 236.

XX. BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD.*

MARTIN PRING.

BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT.

GEORGE WEYMOUTH.

THE voyages made to America, by these navigators, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, may be considered as the leading steps to the colonization of New-England. Excepting the fishery at Newfoundland, the Europeans were at that time in actual possession of no part of North-America ; though the English claimed a right to the whole, by virtue of prior discovery. The attempts which Raleigh had made, to colonize the southern part of the territory, called Virginia, had failed ; but he and his associates enjoyed an exclusive patent from the Crown of England, for the whole coast ; and

* The account of Gosnold's voyage and discovery, in the first volume of this work, is so erroneous, from the misinformation which I had received, that I thought it best to write the whole of it anew. The former mistakes are here corrected, partly from the best information which I could obtain, after the most assiduous inquiry ; but principally from *my own observations*, on the spot ; compared with the journal of the voyage more critically examined than before.

and these adventurers obtained a license, under this authority, to make their voyages and settlements.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was an active, intrepid, and experienced mariner, in the west of England.* He had sailed in one of the ships employed by Raleigh, to Virginia; and was convinced that there must be a shorter and safer way, across the Atlantic, than the usual route, by the Canaries and the West-India Islands. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the northern part of Virginia, does not appear; but that it was with the approbation of Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates, is evident from an account of the voyage which was presented to him.†

On the 26th of March, 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth,‡ in a small bark, the tonnage of which is not mentioned, carrying thirty-two persons, of whom eight were mariners.§ The design of the voyage was

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* Stith, 35, 48. Oldmixon, I. 218.

† Purchas, v. 1651. ‡ Ibid, 1647.

§ The names of the persons who went in this voyage, as far as I can collect them, are as follows:

Bartholomew

to find a direct and short course to Virginia ; and, upon the discovery of a proper seat for a plantation, twelve of the company were to return to England, and twenty to remain in America ; till further assistance and supplies could be sent to them.

The former part of this design was accomplished, as far as the winds and other circumstances would permit. They went no farther southward, than the 37th degree of latitude, within sight of St. Mary, one of the Western Islands. In the 43d degree they approached the continent of America, which they first discovered on the 14th of May, after a passage of seven weeks.* The weak-

ness

Bartholomew Gosnold, commander.

Bartholomew Gilbert, second officer.

John Angel.

Robert Salterne. He went again the next year with
Pring. He was afterward a Clergyman.

William Streete.

Gabriel Archer, gentleman and journalist. He af-
terward went to Virginia. Archer's Hope, near
Williamsburg, is named from him.

James Rosier. He wrote an account of the voyage,
and presented it to Sir Walter Raleigh.

John Brierton, or Brereton.

— Tucker, from whom the shoal called Tucker's
Terror is named.

* Smith, 16.

ness of their bark, and their ignorance of the route, made them carry but little sail; or they might have arrived some days sooner. They judged that they had shortened the distance 500 leagues.

It is not easy to determine, from the journal, what part of the coast they first saw.* Oldmixon says it was the north side of Massachusetts Bay. The description in the journal does, in some respects, agree with the coast, extending from Cape-Ann to Marble-head, or to the rocky point of Nahant.

From a rock, which they called *Savage Rock*, a shallop of European fabric came off to them; in which were eight savages; two or three of whom were dressed in European habits. From these circumstances, they concluded that some fishing vessel of Biscay had been there, and that the crew were destroyed by the natives. These people, by signs, invited them to stay, but "the harbour being naught, and doubting the weather," they did not think proper to accept the invitation.

In the night they stood to the southward, and the next morning, found themselves "embayed with a mighty headland," which

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* Hist. Amer. I. 218.

at first appeared “like an island, by reason of a large sound, which lay between it and the main.” Within a league of this land, they came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, and took a very great quantity of cod. From this circumstance, the land was named *Cape-Cod*. It is described as a low sandy shore, but without danger, and lying in the latitude of 42° . Capt. Gosnold with Mr. Brierton and three men, went to it and found the shore bold and the sand very deep. A young Indian, with copper pendants in his ears, a bow in his hand, and arrows at his back, came to them, and in a friendly manner offered his service ; but, as they were in haste to return to the ship, they had little conference with him.

On the 16th, they sailed by the shore southerly ; and, at the end of twelve leagues, saw a point of land, with breakers at a distance. In attempting to double this point, they came suddenly into shoal water ; from which they extricated themselves by standing off to sea. This point they named *Point Care*, and the breakers, *Tucker’s Terror*, from the person who first discovered the danger. In the night they bore up toward the land,
and

and came to anchor in eight fathoms. The next day, (17th) seeing many breakers about them, and the weather being foul, they lay at anchor.

On the 18th, the weather being clear, they sent their boat to sound a breach, which lay off another point, to which they gave the name of *Gilbert's Point*. The ship remained at anchor the whole of this day ; and some of the natives came from the shore in their canoes to visit them. These people were dressed in skins, and furnished with pipes and tobacco ; one of them had a breast-plate of copper. They appeared more timorous than those of Savage Rock, but were very thievish.

When the people in the boat returned from sounding, they reported a depth of water from four to seven fathoms, over the breach ; which the ship passed the next day, (19th) and came to anchor again above a league beyond it. Here they remained two days, surrounded by scools of fish and flocks of aquatic birds. To the northward of west, they saw several hummocks, which they imagined were distinct islands ; but when they sailed toward them, (on the 21st) they

found them to be small hills within the land. They discovered also an opening, into which they endeavoured to enter, supposing it to be the southern extremity of the sound between Cape-Cod and the main land. But on examination, the water proving very shoal, they called it *Shoal Hope*, and proceeded to the westward. The coast was full of people, who ran along the shore, accompanying the ship as she sailed ; and many smokes appeared within the land.

In coasting along to the westward, they discovered an island, on which the next day (22d) they landed. The description of it in the Journal is this : “ A disinhabited island ; from Shoal Hope it is eight leagues ; in circuit it is five miles, and hath forty-one degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant ; for we found it full of wood, *vines*, gooseberry bushes, hurt-berries, raspices, eglantine [sweet-briar,] &c. Here we had cranes, herns, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds ; which there, at that time, upon the cliffs, being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw *deer*. Here we rode in eight fathoms, near the shore ; where we took great store

store of cod, as before at Cape-Cod, but much better. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it." They gave it the name of *Martha's Vineyard*, from the great number of vines which they found on it.

From this island, they passed (on the 24th) round a very high and distinguished promontory, to which they gave the name of *Dover Cliff*; and came to anchor "in a fair sound, where they rode all night."

Between them and the main, which was then in sight, lay "a ledge of rocks, extending a mile into the sea, but all above water, and without danger." They went round the western extremity of this ledge, and "came to anchor in eight fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever they had seen." This they called *Gosnold's Hope*. The north side of it was the main land stretching east and west, distant four leagues from the island, where they came to anchor, to which they gave the name of *Elizabeth*, in honour of their Queen.

On the 28th of May, they held a council, respecting the place of their abode, which they determined to be "in the west part of Elizabeth

Elizabeth Island, the north-east part, running out of their ken." The island is thus described. "In the western side, it admitteth some creeks or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places meeteth; to which the Indians from the main, do often resort for fishing crabs. There is eight fathom very near the shore, and the latitude is $41^{\circ} 10'$.* The breadth of the island from sound to sound, in the western part, is not passing a mile, at most; altogether unpeopled and uninhabited.

"It is overgrown with wood and rubbish. The woods are oak, ash, beech walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrase and cedars, with divers others of unknown names. The rubbish is wild-peas, young sassafrase, cherry trees, vines, eglantine (or sweet-briar,) gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of the like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, rafps, ground-nuts, alexander, furrin, tanfy, &c. without count. Touching the fertility of the soil, by our own experience, we found it to be excellent; for, sowing

* In Gosnold's letter to his father, the latitude is said to be $41^{\circ} 20'$, which is nearer the truth. It is laid down in Des Barres's Charts, $41^{\circ} 24'$.

ing some English pulse, it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot,

"In this island is a pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles; on one side not distant from the sea thirty yards. In the centre of it, is a *rocky islet*, containing near an acre of ground, full of wood and rubbish, on which we began our fort and place of abode, and made a punt or flat-bottomed boat to pass to and fro over the fresh water.

"On the north side, near adjoining to Elizabeth, is an islet, in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called *Hill's Hap*; to the northward of which, in the middle of an opening on the main, appeared another like it, which I called *Hap's Hill*." When Capt. Gosnold with divers of the Company "went in the shallop toward Hill's Hap to view it, and the sandy cove," they found a bark canoe, which the Indians had quitted for fear of them. This they took and brought to England. It is not said that they made any acknowledgment or recompence for it.

Before I proceed in the account of Gosnold's transactions, it is necessary to make some remarks on the preceding detail, which is either abridged or extracted from the

Journal,

Journal, written by Gabriel Archer. This Journal contains some inaccuracies, which may be corrected by carefully comparing its several parts, and by actual observations of the places described. I have taken much pains to obtain information, by consulting the best maps, and conversing or corresponding with pilots and other persons. But, for my greater satisfaction, I have visited the island on which Gofnold built his house and fort, the ruins of which are still visible, though at the distance of nearly two centuries.

That Gofnold's *Cape-Cod* is the promontory which now bears that name, is evident from his description. The point which he denominated *Care*, at the distance of twelve leagues southward of Cape-Cod, agrees very well with Malebarre, or Sandy Point, the south-eastern extremity of the county of Barnstable. The shoal water and breach, which he called *Tucker's Terror*, correspond with the shoal and breakers commonly called the Pollock Rip, which extends to the south-east of this remarkable point.

To avoid this danger, it being late in the day, he stood so far out to sea, as to overshoot the eastern entrance of what is now called the Vineyard

Vineyard Sound. The land which he made in the night, was a white cliff on the eastern coast of Nantucket, now called Sankoty Head. The breach which lay off *Gilbert's Point*, I take to be the Bass Rip and the Pollock Rip, with the cross riplings which extend from the south-east extremity of that island. Over these riplings there is a depth of water, from four to seven fathoms, according to a late map of Nantucket, published by Peleg Coffin, Esq. and others. That Gosnold did not enter the Vineyard Sound, but overshot it in the night, is demonstrated by comparing his Journal with that of Martin Pring, the next year ; a passage from which shall be cited in its proper place.

The large opening which he saw, but did not enter, and to which he gave the name of *Shoal Hope*, agrees very well with the open shore, to the westward of the little island of Muskeget.

The island which he called *Martha's Vineyard*, now bears the name of No-Man's Land. This is clear, from his account of its size, five miles in circuit ; its distance from *Shoal Hope*, eight leagues, and from *Elizabeth Island* five leagues ; the safety of approaching it on all

all sides ; and the small, but excellent cod, which are always taken near it in the spring months. The only material objection is, that he found *deer* upon the island ; but this is removed by comparing his account with the Journal of Martin Pring, who, the next year, found deer in abundance on the large island, now called The Vineyard. I have had credible testimony, that deer have been seen swimming across the Vineyard Sound, when pursued by hunters. This island was a sequestered spot, where those deer who took refuge upon it, would probably remain undisturbed, and multiply.*

The lofty promontory, to which he gave the name of *Dover Cliff*, is Gay Head ; an object too singular and entertaining to pass unobserved, and far superior in magnitude to any other cliff on any of these islands. The “fair sound,” into which he entered after doubling

* The following information was given to me by Benjamin Bassett, Esq. of Chilmark.

“About the year 1720, the last *deer* was seen on the Vineyard, and shot at. The horns of these animals have been ploughed up, several times, on the west end of the island. If one deer could swim across the Vineyard Sound, why not more ? No-Man’s Land is 4 miles from the Vineyard, and if deer could cross the Sound 7 miles, why not from the Vineyard to No-Man’s Land ?”

doubling this cliff, is the western extremity of the Vineyard Sound ; and his anchoring place was probably in or near Menemsha Bight.

For what reason, and at what time, the name of Martha's Vineyard was transferred from the small island so called by Gosnold, to the large island which now bears it, are questions which remain in obscurity. That Gosnold at first took the southern side of this large island to be the main, is evident. When he doubled the cliff at its western end, he knew it to be an island ; but gave no name to any part of it, except the Cliff.*

“ The

* The reader will give to the following conjecture as much weight as it deserves.

The large island is frequently called *Martin's Vineyard*, especially by the old writers. This is commonly supposed to be a mistake. But why ? Captain Pring's Christian name was *Martin*, and this island has as good a right to the appellation of Vineyard as the other, being equally productive of vines. The names *Martha* and *Martin* are easily confounded ; and as one island only was supposed to be designated by *The Vineyard*, it was natural to give it to the greater. The lesser became disregarded, and being not inhabited or claimed by any, it was supposed to belong to *no man*, and was called No-Man's Land.

In an old Dutch map, extant, in Ogilby's History of America, p. 168, the name of *Marthae's Vyneard* is given to a small island, lying southward of *Elizabet Eyl* ; and the name of *Texel* is given to the large island, which is now called The Vineyard. The situation of the small island agrees with that of No-Man's Land.

"The ledge of rocks extending a mile into the sea," between his anchoring ground and the main, is that remarkable ledge; distinguished by the name of the Sow and Pigs. The "stately sound" which he entered, after passing round these rocks, is the mouth of Buzzard's Bay ; and the Island *Elizabeth*, is the westernmost of the islands which now go by the name of Elizabeth's Islands. Its Indian name is Cuttyhunk, a contraction of Poo-cut-oh-hunk-un-noh, which signifies a thing that lies out of the water. The names of the others are Nashawena, Pasque, Nau-shon, Nenimisset, and Peniquese, besides some of less note.

In this island, at the west end, on the north side, is a pond of fresh water, three quarters of a mile in length, and of unequal breadth ; but if measured in all its sinuosities, would amount to two miles in circuit. In the middle of its breadth, near the west end, is a "rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground."

To this spot I went, on the 20th day of June, 1797, in company with several gentlemen,* whose curiosity and obliging kindness

* Noah Webster, Esq. of New-York.

Captain Tallman,

Mr. John Spooner, } of New-Bedford.

Mr. Allen, a pilot,

ness induced them to accompany me. The protecting hand of Nature has reserved this favourite spot to herself. Its fertility and its productions are exactly the same as in Gosnold's time, excepting the wood, of which there is none. Every species of what he calls "rubbish," with strawberries, peas, tansy, and other fruits and herbs, appear in rich abundance, unmolested by any animal but aquatic birds. We had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's store-house ; the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighbouring beach ; the rocks of the islet being less moveable, and lying in ledges.

The whole island of Cuttyhunk has been for many years stripped of its wood ; but I was informed by Mr. Greenill, an old resident farmer, that the trees which formerly grew on it, were such as are described in Gosnold's Journal. The soil is a very fine garden mould, from the bottom of the valleys to the top of the hills, and affords rich pasture.

The length of the island is rather more than two miles, and its breadth about one mile. The beach between the pond and the sea is twenty-seven yards wide. It is so high
and

and firm a barrier, that the sea never flows into the pond, but when agitated by a violent gale from the north-west. The pond is deep in the middle. It has no visible outlet. Its fish are perch, eels and turtles; and it is frequented by aquatic birds, both wild and domestic.

On the north side of the island, connected with it by a beach, is an elevation, the Indian name of which is Copicut. Either this hill, or the little island of Peniquesse, which lies a mile to the northward, is the place which Gosnold called *Hill's Hap*. Between Copicut and Cuttyhunk is a circular sandy cove, with a narrow entrance. *Hap's Hill*, on the opposite shore of the main, distant four leagues, is a round elevation, on a point of land, near the Dumplin Rocks, between the rivers of Apooneganset and Pascamanset, in the township of Dartmouth.

From the south side of Cuttyhunk, the promontory of Gay Head, which Gosnold called Dover Cliff, and the island which he named Martha's Vineyard, lie in full view, and appear to great advantage. No other objects, in that region, bear any resemblance to them, or to the description given of them;

nor

nor is there a ledge of rocks projecting from any other island a mile into the sea.

Whilst Gabriel Archer, and a party, generally consisting of ten, laboured in clearing the “rocky islet” of wood, and building a store-house and fort, Captain Gofnold and the rest of the company were employed either in making discoveries, or fishing, or collecting sassafras. On the 31st of May, he went to the main land, on the shore of which he was met by a company of the natives, “men, women, and children, who, with all courteous kindness, entertained him, giving him skins of wild beasts, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings coloured, [wampum,] and such like things as they had about them.” The stately groves, flowery meadows, and running brooks, afforded delightful entertainment to the adventurers. The principal discovery which they made, was of two good harbours ; one of which I take to be Apooneganset, and the other Pascamanset, between which lies the round hill, which they called *Hap's Hill*. They observed the coast to extend five leagues further to the south-west, as it does, to Seconnet Point. As they spent but one day in
this

this excursion, they did not fully explore the main, though from what they observed, the land being broken, and the shore rocky, they were convinced of the existence of other harbours on that coast.

On the 5th of June, an Indian chief and fifty men, armed with bows and arrows, landed on the island. Archer and his men left their work, and met them on the beach. After mutual salutations, they sat down, and began a traffic, exchanging such things as they had, to mutual satisfaction. The ship then lay at anchor, a league off. Gosnold seeing the Indians approach the island, came on shore with twelve men, and was received by Archer's party, with military ceremony, as their Commander. The Captain gave the Chief a straw hat and two knives. The former he little regarded; the latter he received with great admiration.

In a subsequent visit, they became better acquainted, and had a larger trade for furs. At dinner, they entertained the savages with fish and mustard, and gave them beer to drink. The effect of the mustard on the noses of the Indians afforded them much diversion. One of them stole a target, and conveyed

conveyed it on board his canoe ; when it was demanded of the Chief, it was immediately restored. No demand was made of the birch canoe, which Gofnold had a few days before taken from the Indians. When the Chief and his retinue took their leave, four or five of the Indians staid and helped the adventurers to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as furs and other productions of the country, the ship was loaded for her homeward voyage. Having performed this service, the Indians were invited on board the ship, but they declined the invitation, and returned to the main. This island had no fixed inhabitants ; the natives of the opposite shore frequently visited it, for the purpose of gathering shell-fish, with which its creeks and coves abounded.

All these Indians had ornaments of copper. When the adventurers asked them, by signs, whence they obtained this metal, one of them made answer, by digging a hole in the ground, and pointing to the main ; from which circumstance it was understood that the adjacent country contained mines of copper. In the course of almost two centuries, no copper has been there discovered ; though iron,

iron, a much more useful metal, wholly unknown to the natives, is found in great plenty. The question, whence did they obtain copper? is yet without an answer.

Three weeks were spent in clearing the islet, digging and stoning a cellar, building a house, fortifying it with pallisades, and covering it with sedge, which then grew in great plenty on the sides of the pond. During this time, a survey was made of their provisions. After reserving enough to victual twelve men, who were to go home in the bark, no more could be left with the remaining twenty than would suffice them for six weeks; and the ship could not return till the end of the next autumn. This was a very discouraging circumstance.

A jealousy also arose respecting the profits of the ship's lading; those who staid behind claiming a share, as well as those who should return to England. Whilst these subjects were in debate, a single Indian came on board, from whose apparently grave and sober deportment they suspected him to have been sent as a spy. In a few days after, the ship went to Hill's Hap, out of sight of the fort, to take in a load of cedar, and was there detained.

detained so much longer than they expected, that the party at the fort had expended their provision. Four of them went in search of shell-fish, and divided themselves, two and two, going different ways. One of these small parties was suddenly attacked by four Indians in a canoe, who wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow. His companion seized the canoe, and cut their bow-strings, on which they fled. It being late in the day, and the weather stormy, this couple were obliged to pass the night in the woods, and did not reach the fort till the next day. The whole party subsisted on shell-fish, ground-nuts, and herbs, till the ship came and took them on board. A new consultation was then holden. Those who had been most resolute to remain, were discouraged; and the unanimous voice was in favour of returning to England.

On the 17th of June, they doubled the rocky ledge of Elizabeth, passed by Dover Cliff, sailed to the island which they had called Martha's Vineyard, and employed themselves in taking young geese, cranes, and herns. The next day they set sail for England; and, after a pleasant passage of five weeks, arrived at Exmouth, in Devonshire.

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Thus

Thus failed the first attempt to plant a Colony in North Virginia ; the causes of which are obvious. The loss of Sir Walter Raleigh's Company, in South Virginia, was then recent in memory ; and the same causes might have operated here to produce the same effect. Twenty men, situated on an island, surrounded by other islands and the main, and furnished with six weeks provisions only, could not maintain possession of a territory to which they had no right, against the force of its native proprietors. They might easily have been cut off, when seeking food abroad, or their fort might have been invested, and they must have surrendered at discretion, or have been starved to death, had no direct assault been made upon them. The prudence of their retreat is unquestionable to any person who considers their hazardous situation.

During this voyage, and especially whilst on shore, the whole Company enjoyed remarkably good health. They were highly pleased with the salubrity, fertility, and apparent advantages of the country. Gofnold was so enthusiastic an admirer of it, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to forward

ward the settlement of a Colony, in conjunction with Captain John Smith. With him, in 1607, he embarked in the expedition to South Virginia, where he had the rank of a Counsellor. Soon after his arrival, by excessive fatigue in the extremity of the summer heat, he fell a sacrifice, with fifty others, to the insalubrity of that climate, and the scanty measure and bad quality of the provisions with which that unfortunate Colony was furnished.*

The discovery made by Gosnold, and especially the shortness of the time in which his voyage was performed, induced Richard Hackluyt,† then Prebendary of St. Augustine's Church in Bristol, to use his influence with the Mayor, Aldermen and Merchants of that opulent, mercantile city, to prosecute the discovery of the northern parts of Virginia. The first step was to obtain permif-
sion

* In an account of the first settlement of Virginia, written by George Percy, I find the following note :

"The 22d of August, died Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, one of our Council. He was honourably buried, having all the ordnance in the fort shot off; with many vollies of small shot. After his death, the Council could hardly agree." Purchas, iv. 1690.

† Purchas, v. 1654.

sion of Raleigh and his associates. This was undertaken and accomplished by Hackluyt, in conjunction with John Angel and Robert Salterne, both of whom had been with Gofnold to America. The next was to equip two vessels ; one a ship of fifty tons, called the Speedwell, carrying thirty men ; the other a bark of twenty-six tons, called the Discoverer, carrying thirteen men. The commander of the ship was MARTIN PRING, and his mate, Edmund Jones. The bark was commanded by William Browne, whose mate was Samuel Kirkland. Salterne was the principal agent, or supercargo ; and was furnished with various kinds of cloathing, hard-ware and trinkets, to trade with the natives. The vessels were victualled for eight months, and sailed on the 10th of April, 1603, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth.

They went so far to the southward, as to be within sight of the Azores ; and in the beginning of June, fell in with the American coast, between the 43d and 44th degrees of latitude, among those numerous islands which cover the District of Maine. One of these they named *Fox Island*, from some of that

that species of animal which they saw upon it. Among these islands, in the mouth of Penobscot Bay, they found good anchorage and fishing. The land being rocky, they judged it proper for the drying of cod, which they took in great plenty, and esteemed better than those usually taken at Newfoundland.

Having passed all the islands, they ranged the coast to the south-west, and entered four inlets, which are thus described : “ The most easterly was barred at the mouth ; but having passed over the bar, we ran up it for five miles, and for a certain space found very good depth. Coming out again, as we sailed south-west, we lighted on two other inlets, which we found to pierce not far into the land. The fourth and most westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles. In all these places we found no people, but signs of fires, where they had been. Howbeit, we beheld very goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts. But meeting with no *sassafras*, we left these places, with all the aforesaid islands, shaping our course for *Savage Rock*, discovered the year before by Captain Gosnold.”

From

From this description, I conclude, that after they had passed the islands as far westward as Casco Bay, the easternmost of the four inlets which they entered was the mouth of the river Saco. The two next were Kennebunk and York Rivers; and the westernmost, and best, was the river Piscataqua. The reason of their finding no people, was, that the natives were at that season (June) fishing at the falls of the rivers; and the vestiges of fires marked the places at or near the mouths of the rivers, where they had resided and taken fish in the earlier months of the spring. In steering for *Savage Rock*, they must have doubled Cape Ann, which brought them into the Bay of Massachusetts, on the northern shore of which I suppose *Savage Rock* to be situated.

It seems that one principal object of their voyage was to collect sassafras, which was esteemed a highly medicinal vegetable. In several parts of these journals, and in other books of the same date, it is celebrated as a sovereign remedy for the plague, the venereal disease, the stone, the strangury, and other

other maladies.* One of Gosnold's men had been cured by it, in twelve hours, of a surfeit, occasioned by eating greedily of the bellies of dog-fish, which is called a "delicious meat."

The journal then proceeds : " Going on the main at *Savage Rock*, we found people, with whom we had no long conversation; because here also we could find no sassafras. Departing hence, we bare into *that great gulf which Captain Gosnold overshot* the year before ; coasting and finding people on the north side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to anchor on the south side, in the latitude of forty-one degrees and odd minutes ; where we went on land, in a certain bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worshipful Master, John Whitson, then Mayor of the city of Bristol, and one of the chief adventurers. Finding a pleasant hill adjoining, we called it *Mount Aldworth*,

* " *Saxifraga, Saxifragum, herba a frangendis in corpore calculis appellata. Si bibatur semen aut radix cum vino, urinam optimè provocat et calculos expellit, atque medetur stranguriæ ac obstructionibus renum et vesicæ ; succus foliorum delet maculas faciei.*" — Gerard.

Vide *Minsheu* in verbum.

Aldworth, for Master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse as with his travel. Here we had sufficient quantity of saffafras."

In another part of this journal, Whitson Bay is thus described : " At the entrance of this excellente haven, we found twenty fathoms of water, and rode at our ease in seven fathoms, being land-locked; the haven winding in compass like the shell of a snail ; and it is in latitude of forty-one degrees and twenty minutes. We also observed that we could find no saffafras but in sandy ground."*

Though

* The following note is by *Peleg Coffin*, Esq. " The haven here described must have been that of Edgar-Town. No other could with propriety be represented as winding or land-locked, as is truly the harbour of Edgar-Town, generally called Old-Town."

To this I subjoin an extract of a letter from the Rev. Joseph Thaxter, minister of Edgar-Town, dated Nov. 15, 1797. " It is evident to me, and others better acquainted than I am, with whom I have consulted, that Pring, as soon as he passed the sandy point of Monumoy, [Malebar] bore to the westward, and came through what is called Butler's Hole ; that he kept the North Channel, till he got as far as Falmouth, and that he then crossed over into Old-Town harbour, which corresponds in every respect to his description, except in the depth of water at the entrance of the harbour ; there are now but fourteen fathoms ; in the harbour there are seven and a half. I would suggest

Though this Company had no design to make a settlement in America, yet considering that the place where they found it convenient to reside, was full of inhabitants, they built a temporary hut, and enclosed it with a barricade, in which they kept constant guard by day and night, whilst others were employed in collecting sassafras in the woods. The Indians frequently visited them in parties, of various numbers, from ten to a hundred. They were used kindly, had trinkets presented them, and were fed with English pulse ; their own food being chiefly fish. They were adorned with plates of copper ; their bows, arrows and quivers were very neatly made ; and their birchen canoes were considered as great curiosities, one of which, of seventeen feet in length and four in breadth, was carried home to Bristol, as a specimen of their ingenuity. Whether it was bought or stolen from them, is uncertain.

The

suggest an idea, whether there is now the same depth of water, at the entrance, as in 1603 ? It is certain that the shoals shift, and that Cape Poge, within the memory of man, has been washed into the sea thirty or forty rods. From this circumstance, the difference in the depth of water may be easily accounted for. "There are several pleasant hills adjoining to the harbour, and to this day plenty of sassafras."

The natives were excessively fond of music, and would dance in a ring round an English youth, who played on an instrument, called "a Gitterne."* But they were greatly terrified at the barking of two English mastiffs, which always kept them at a distance, when the people were tired of their company.

The growth of the place consisted of safsafras, vines, cedar, oak, ash, beech, birch, cherry, hafel, walnut, maple, holly, and wild plum. The land animals were "stags and fallow deer, in abundance, bears, wolves, foxes, lusernes,† porcupines, and dogs with sharp and long noses."‡ The waters and shores abounded with fish and shell-fish of various kinds, and aquatic birds in great plenty.

By

* Guittara, *Hispam.* Cithara, *Lat.* Guittare, *Fr.*
Ghittar, *Ital.* Vide *Minsheu* and *Junius.*

† "Luserne, Lucern, a beast near the bigness of a wolf, of colour between red and brown, something mayled like a cat; and mingled with black spots; bred in Muscovy, and is a rich furre." Vide *Minsheu* in verbum *Furre.*

Could this animal be the racoon? Josselyn gives the name of luserne to the wild-cat.

‡ As the existence of this species of animal has been doubted, I must remark, that it is several times mentioned by the earliest adventurers, and twice in Pring's Journal,

Josselyn,

By the end of July they had loaded their bark with sassafras, and sent her to England. After which they made as much dispatch as possible in lading the ship, the departure of which was accelerated by the following incident.

The Indians had hitherto been on friendly terms with the adventurers ; but seeing their number lessened and one of their vessels gone, and those who remained dispersed at their several employments, they came one day, about noon, to the number of one hundred and forty, armed with bows and arrows, to the barricado, where four men were on guard with their muskets. The Indians called to them to come out, which they refused, and stood on their defence. Captain Pring, with two men only, were on board the ship ; as soon as he perceived the danger, he secured

the

Josselyn, who was a naturalist, and resided several years in the eastern parts of New-England, gives this account of it :

"I know of but one kind of beast in New-England, produced by equivocal generation, and that is the Indian dog, begotten between a wolf and a fox, or between a fox and a wolf ; which they made use of, taming them and bringing them up to hunt with ; but since the English came among them, they have gotten store of our dogs, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their wives." *Josselyn's Voyages to N.E.* 1673, p. 94.

the ship as well as he could, and fired one of his great guns, as a signal to the labourers in the woods, who were reposing after their fatigue, depending on the mastiffs for protection. The dogs, hearing the gun, awoke their masters, who, then hearing a second gun, took to their arms, and came to the relief of the guard. At the sight of the men and dogs, the Indians desisted from their purpose, and affecting to turn the whole into a jest, went off laughing without any damage on either side.

In a few days after, they sat fire to the woods where the sassafras grew, to the extent of a mile. These alarming circumstances determined Pring to retire. After the people had embarked, and were weighing the anchors, a larger number than ever they had seen, about two hundred, came down to the shore, and some in their canoes came off to the ship, apparently to invite the adventurers to a longer continuance. It was not easy to believe the invitation friendly, nor prudent to accept it. They therefore came to sail, it being the 9th of August. After a passage of five weeks, by the route of the Azores, they came into soundings; and on the 2d of October

tober arrived at King-Road, below Bristol, where the bark had arrived about a fortnight before them. This whole voyage was completed in six months. Its objects were to make discoveries, and to collect furs and sa-safras. No instance of aggression on the part of the adventurers is mentioned, nor on the part of the natives, till after the failing of the bark.

At the same time that Martin Pring was employed in this voyage, BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT went on a farther discovery to the southern part of Virginia, having it also in view to look for the lost Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh.* He sailed from Plymouth, May 10, 1603, in the bark Elizabeth, of fifty tons, and went by the way of Madeira to the West-Indies, where he touched at several of the islands, taking in lignum-vitæ, tortoises, and tobacco.

On the 6th of July he quitted the islands, and steered for Virginia. In four days he got into the Gulf Stream, and was becalmed five days. After which the wind sprang up, and on the 20th he saw land in the 40th degree of latitude. His object was to fetch the mouth

* Purchas, v. 1656.

mouth of Chesapeake Bay ; but the wind being adverse, after beating against it for several days, the necessity of wood and water obliged him to come to anchor about a mile from the shore, where there was an appearance of the entrance of a river.

On Friday, the 29th of July, Captain Gilbert, accompanied by Thomas Canner, a gentleman of Bernard's Inn, Richard Harrison, Mate, Henry Kenton, Surgeon, and Derrick, a Dutchman, went on shore, leaving two boys to keep the boat. Immediately after they had entered the wood, the savages attacked, pursued and killed every one of them ; two of them fell in sight of the boys, who had much difficulty to prevent the Indians from hauling the boat on shore.

With heavy hearts they got back to the ship ; whose crew, reduced to eleven, including the boys, durst not make any further attempt ; but steered for the Western Islands ; after passing them, they arrived in the river Thames about the end of September, when the city of London was “ most grievously infected with the Plague.”

After the peace which King James made with Spain in 1604, when the passion for
the

the discovery of a north-west passage was in full vigour, a ship was sent from England by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour, with a view to this object. The commander of the ship was GEORGE WEYMOUTH. He sailed from the Downs on the last day of March, 1605, and came in sight of the American coast on the 13th of May, in the latitude of 41 degrees 30 minutes.

Being there entangled among shoals and breakers, he quitted this land, and at the distance of fifty leagues, discovered several islands, to one of which he gave the name of *St. George*. Within three leagues of this island he came into a harbour, which he called *Pentecost* harbour ; and sailed up a noble river, to which it does not appear that he gave any name, nor does he mention any name by which it was called by the natives.

The conjectures of historians respecting this river have been various. Oldmixon supposes it to have been James River in Virginia, whilst Beverley, who aims to correct him, affirms it to have been Hudson's River in New-York. Neither of them could have made these mistakes, if they had read the original account in Purchas with any attention.

tion. In Smith's History of Virginia an abridgment of the voyage is given, but in so slight and indefinite a manner as to afford no satisfaction respecting the situation of the river, whether it were northward or southward from the land first discovered.

To ascertain this matter I have carefully examined Weymouth's Journal and compared it with the best maps; but for more perfect satisfaction, I gave an abstract of the Voyage with a number of queries to Capt. JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS, an experienced mariner and commander of the Revenue Cutter, belonging to this port; who has very obligingly communicated to me his observations made in a late cruize. Both of these papers are here subjoined.

*"ABSTRACT of the VOYAGE of Captain
GEORGE WEYMOUTH, to the Coast of
America, from the printed Journal, extant
in Purchas's Pilgrims, part iv. page 1659.*

A.D. 1605, March 31. "Captain George Weymouth sailed from England in the Archangel, for the northern part of Virginia, as the whole coast of North-America was then called.

May

May 13. Arrived in soundings—160 fathoms.

14. In five or six leagues distance shoaled the water from one hundred to five fathoms, saw from the mast-head a *whitish sandy cliff*, W. N. W. 6 leagues: many breaches nearer the land; the ground foul, and depth varying from six to fifteen fathoms. Parted from the land. Latitude 41 degrees 30 minutes.

15. Wind between W. S. W. and S. S. W. In want of wood and water. Land much desired, and therefore sought for it *where the wind would best suffer us.*

QUERY I. As the wind then blew, must not the course be to the north and east?

16. In almost fifty leagues run, found no land; the charts being erroneous.

17. Saw land which bore N. N. E. a great gale of wind and the sea high. Stood off till two in the morning; then stood in again. At eight A. M. saw land again bearing N. E. It appeared a mean high land, being as we afterward found it an *island* of no great compass. About noon came to anchor on the north side in forty fathoms, about a league from shore. Named the island *St. George.*

QUERY 2. Could this island be *Segwin* or *Monhegan*? or if neither, what island was it?

Whilst we were on shore on the island our men on board caught thirty large cod and haddock. From hence we discerned many islands, and the main land extending from W. S. W. to E. N. E. A great way up into the main, as it then seemed, we discerned *very high mountains*; though the main seemed but low land. The mountains bore N. N. E. from us.

QUERY 3. What mountains were these?

May 19. Being *Whitsunday*, weighed anchor at twelve o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly to the mountains, about three leagues from the first island found a safe harbour, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen in six, seven, eight, nine, ten fathoms upon a clay ooze, very tough, where is good mooring even on the rocks, by the cliff side. Named it *Pentecost Harbour*.

QUERY 4. Do these marks agree with Sagadahock or Musqueto Harbour or St. George's

George's Island? or if not, with what harbour do they agree?

May 20. Went ashore, found water issuing from springs down the rocky cliffs, and dug pits to receive it. Found, at no great depth, clay, blue, red and white. Good lobsters, rock-fish, plaice, and lumps. With two or three hooks caught cod and haddock enough for the ship's company three days.

24. The Captain, with 14 men armed, marched through two of the islands, one of which we guessed to be four or five miles in compass and one broad. Abundance of great muscles, some of which contained pearls. One had 14 pearls in it.

30. The Captain with 13 men departed in the shallop, leaving the ship in harbour.

31. The shallop returned, having discovered a great river trending far up into the main.

QUERY 5. What river was this?

June 1. Indians came and traded with us. Pointing to one part of the main, eastward, they signified to us that the *Bashabe*, their King, had plenty of furs and much tobacco.

N. B. Here Weymouth kidnapped five of the natives.

June

June 11. Passed up into the river with our ship about 26 miles.

*Observations by the Author of the Voyage,
James Rosier.*

“ THE first and chief thing required for a plantation is a bold coast, and fair land to fall in with. The next is a safe harbour for ships to ride in.

“ The first is a special attribute of this shore, being free from sands or dangerous rocks, in a continual good depth, with a most excellent land-fall as can be desired, which is the first island, named St. George.

“ For the second, here are more good harbours for ships of all burdens than all England can afford. The river, as it runneth up into the main very nigh forty miles, towards the *Great Mountains*, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three-fourths, and half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have less than four or five fathom, hard by the shore ; but six, seven, eight, nine, ten, at low water. On both sides, every half mile, very gallant coves, some able to contain almost one hundred sail of ships ; the ground is an excellent soft ooze, with tough clay

clay for anchor-hold ; and ships may lie without anchor, only moored to the shore with a hawser.

“ It floweth sixteen or eighteen feet at high water. ——————

“ Here are made by nature, most excellent places, as dockes to grave and careen ships of all burdens, secure from all winds.

“ The river yieldeth plenty of salmon, and other fishes of great bigness.

“ The bordering land is most rich, trending all along on both sides, in an *equal plain*, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green border of grafs ; which may be made good feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward islands, with fresh water, which streameth down in many places.

“ As we passed with a gentle wind, in our ship, up this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy ; many who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers, affirmed them not comparable to this. I will not prefer it before our river of Thames, because it is England’s richest treasure ; but we did all wish those excellent harbours,

harbours, good depths, continual convenient breadth, and small tide-gates, to be as well therein, for our country's good, as we found them here ; then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large, secure harbouring river that the world affordeth."

June 12. " Our Captain manned *his shallop* with seventeen men, and ran up to the *codde* of the river, where we landed, leaving six to keep the shallop. Ten of us, with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up the country, *toward the mountains*, which we descried at our first falling in with the land, and *were continually in our view*. To some of them, the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves, when we landed, to be within a league of them ; but we found them not, having marched well nigh four miles, and passed three great hills. Wherefore, because the weather was hot, and our men in their armour, not able to travel far and return to our pinnace at night, we resolved not to travel further.

" We were no sooner come a-board our pinnace, returning down toward our ship, but we espied a canoe coming from the further part
of

of the codde of the river, eastward. In it were three Indians, one of whom we had before seen, and his coming was very earnestly to importune us to let one of our men go with them to the *Bashabe*, and then the next morning he would come to our ship with furs and tobacco."

N. B. They did not accept the invitation, because they suspected danger from the savages, having detained five of their people on board to be carried to England.

June 13. "By two o'clock in the morning, taking advantage of the tide, we went in our pinnace up to that part of the river which trendeth west into the main, and we carried a cross to erect at that point, (a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers.) Into that river, we rowed, by estimation, twenty miles.

" What profit or pleasure is described in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that a ship, drawing seventeen or eighteen feet of water, might have passed as far as we went with our *shallop*, and much further, because we left it in so good depth. From the

the place of our ship's riding in the harbour; at the entrance into the Sound, to the furthest point we were in this river, by our estimation, was not much less than *threescore* miles. [That is, as I understand it, from Pentecost Harbour they went *in the ship* forty miles, to the *codde* of the river; and thence in the shallop, or pinnace, twenty miles up the west branch.]

QUERY 6. What is meant by *codde*? It appears to be an old word.

"We were so pleased with this river, and so loth to forsake it, that we would have continued there willingly for two days, having only bread and cheese to eat. But the tide not suffering it, we came down with the ebb. We conceived that the river ran very far into the land, for we passed six or seven miles altogether *fresh water*, (whereof we all drank) forced up by the flowing of the salt water.

June 14. We warped our *ship* down to the river's mouth, and there came to anchor.

15. Weighed anchor, and with a breeze from the land, came to our watering place, in Pentecost Harbour, and filled our cask.

"Our

"Our Captain, upon a rock in the midst of this harbour, made his observation by the sun, of the height, latitude, and variation, exactly, upon all his instruments, viz. astrolabe, semisphere, ring, and cross-staff, and an excellent variation compass. The latitude he found 43 degrees 20 minutes, north; the variation, 11 degrees 15 minutes, west."

N. B. In this latitude no part of the American coast lies, except Cape Porpoise, where is only a boat harbour. The rivers nearest to it are on the south, Kennebunk, a tide river of no great extent, terminating in a brook; and on the north, Saco, the navigation of which is obstructed by a bar at its mouth, and by a fall at the distance of six or seven miles from the sea. Neither of these could be the river described in Weymouth's Journal. His observation of the latitude, or the printed account of it, must have been erroneous.

☞ "Captain Williams will be so obliging as to put down his remarks on the above abstract in writing, for the use of his humble servant,

JEREMY BELKNAP."

Boston, August 4, 1797.

T

Captain

Captain Williams's Answer.

"THE first land Captain Weymouth saw, a whitish sandy cliff, W. N. W. six leagues, must have been Sankoty Head [Nantucket.] With the wind at W. S. W. and S. S. W. he could have fetched into this bay, [Boston] and must have seen Cape Cod, had the weather been clear. But,

The land he saw on the 17th, I think must be the island Monhegan, as no other island answers the description. In my last cruize to the eastward, I sounded, and had thirty fathoms, about one league to the northward of the island. The many islands he saw, and the main land, extending from W. S. W. to E. N. E. agree with that shore; the mountains he saw bearing N. N. E. were Penobscot *Hills* or *Mountains*; for from the place where I suppose the ship lay at anchor, the above mountains bear N. N. E.

The harbour where he lay with his ship, and named Pentecost Harbour, is, I suppose, what is now called *George's Island Harbour*, which bears north from Monhegan, about two leagues; which harbour and islands agree with his descriptions, I think, tolerably well, and the name, *George's Islands*, serves to confirm it.

When

When the Captain went in his boat and discovered a great river tending far up into the main, I suppose he went as far as Two-Bush Island, about three or four leagues from the ship, from thence he could discover Penobscot Bay.

	Miles.
Distance from the ship to Two-Bush Island is about	10
From Two-Bush Island to Owl's Head	9
From Owl's head to the north end of Long-Island	27
From the north end of Long-Island to Old Fort Pownal	6
From the Old Fort to the head of the tide, or falls, in Penobscot River	30
<hr/>	
	82

I suppose he went with his ship, round Two-Bush Island, and then sailed up to the westward of Long-Island, supposing himself to be then in the river; the mountains on the main to the westward extending near as high up as Belfast Bay. I think it probable that he anchored with his ship off the point which is now called the Old Fort Point.

The codde of the river, where he went with his shallop, and marched up in the country,

country, toward the mountains, I think must be Belfast Bay.

The canoe that came from the further part of the codde of the river, eastward, with Indians, I think it probable, came from Bagaduce.

The word *codde* is not common; but I have often heard it; as, "up in the codde of the bay," meaning the bottom of the bay. I suppose what he calls "the codde of the river," is a bay in the river.

The latitude of St. George's Island Harbour, according to Holland's map, is forty-three degrees forty-eight minutes, which is nine leagues more north than the observation made by Captain Weymouth.

Boston, October 1, 1797.

SIR,

I MADE the foregoing remarks, while on my last cruize to the eastward. If any further information is necessary, that is in my power to give, you may command me.

I am, with respect, Sir;

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS.

Rev. Dr. BELKNAP.

Weymouth's

Weymouth's voyage is memorable, only for the discovery of Penobscot River, and for the decoying of five of the natives on board his ship, whom he carried to England. Three of them were taken into the family of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then Governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. The information which he gained from them, corroborated by Martin Pring, of Bristol, who made a second voyage in 1606, (and prosecuted the discovery of the rivers in the District of Maine) prepared the way for the attempt of Sir John Popham and others to establish a Colony at Sagadahock, in 1607; an account of which attempt, and its failure, is already given in the life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.*

In the early accounts of this country we find the names of *Mavoshen* and *Norumbega*. Mavoshen was a name for the whole District of Maine, containing nine or ten rivers; the westernmost of which was Shawakotock, (written by the French Chouakoet and by the English, Sâco.) The easternmost was Quibequesson,† which I take to be eastward of Penobscot, but cannot say by what name it is now called. Norumbega was a part

* Vol. I. p. 350.

† Purchas, v. 1873.

part of the same district, comprehending Penobscot Bay and River; but its eastern and western limits are not described.*

It is also to be noted that the river Penobscot was sometimes called Pemaquid, though this latter name is now restricted to a point or neck of land which lies about six leagues to the westward. Penobscot is called by the French, Pentagoet.

This confusion of names occasions no small perplexity to inquirers into the geography and early history of this country.

* Purchas, v. 1625, 1632.

XXI. JOHN ROBINSON.

THE first effectual settlements of the English in New-England were made by those, who, after the Reformation, dissented from the establishment of the Episcopal Church, who suffered on account of their dissent, and sought an asylum from their sufferings. Uniformity was insisted on with such rigour, as disgusted many conscientious ministers and people of the Church of England, and caused that separation which has ever since subsisted. Those who could not conform to the establishment, but wished for a more complete reformation, were at first distinguished by the name of *Puritans*; and among these the most rigid were the *Brownists*, so called from Robert Brown, "a fiery young clergyman," who, in 1580, headed a zealous party, and was vehement for a total separation. But his zeal, however violent, was void of consistency; for, in his advanced years, he conformed to the Church; whilst others, who more deliberately withdrew, retained their separation, though they became more candid and

and moderate in their principles.* Of these people a Congregation was formed, about the year 1602, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln ; who chose for their ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson.†

Mr. Robinson was born in the year 1575, but the place of his birth is unknown. He was probably educated in the University of Cambridge ;‡ and he is said to have been “a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit ; pious and studious of the truth ; largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ.” Before his election to this office, he had a benefice, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk, where his friends were frequently molested by the bishop’s officers, and some were almost ruined by prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts. §

The reigning prince, at that time, was James I. than whom, a more contemptible character never sat on the British throne. Educated in the principles of Presbyterianism,

in

* Neal’s New-England, I. 53, 60.

† Prince, I. 4, 20.

‡ Morton, 2.

§ Neal’s Pur. 8vo. II. 49.

in Scotland, he forgot them all on his advancement to the throne of the three kingdoms.* Flattered by the bishops, he gave all ecclesiastical power into their hands, and entrusted sycophants with the management of the State ; whilst he indolently resigned himself to literary and sensual indulgencies ; in the former of which he was a pedant ; in the latter an epicure. The prosecution of the Puritans was conducted with unrelenting severity in the former part of his reign, when Bancroft was Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot who succeeded him was favourable to them ; but when Laud came into power, they were treated with every mark of insult and cruelty.

Robinson's congregation did not escape persecution by separating from the establishment and forming an independent church. Still exposed to the penalties of the ecclesiastical law, they were extremely harassed ; some were thrown into prison, some were confined to their own houses ; others were obliged to leave their farms and suspend their usual occupations. Such was their distress and perplexity, that an emigration to some

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foreign

* Neal's N. E. I. 70.

foreign country seemed the only means of safety. Their first views were directed to Holland, where the spirit of commerce had dictated a free toleration of religious opinions ; a blessing, which neither the wisdom of politicians, nor the charity of clergymen had admitted into any other of the European States. But the ports of their own country were shut against them ; they could get away only by seeking concealment and giving extravagant rates for their passages and fees to the mariners.*

In the autumn of 1607, a company of these Dissenters, hired a ship at Boston in Lincolnshire to carry them to Holland. The Master promised to be ready at a certain hour of the day, to take them on board, with their families and effects. They assembled at the place ; but he disappointed them. Afterward he came in the night ; and when they were embarked, betrayed them into the hands of searchers, and other officers ; who, having robbed them of money, books and other articles, and treated the women with indecency, carried them back into the town,

* Hazard's Collections, I. 151.

† Prince, 23. Hutch. I. 449.

town, and exposed them as a laughing spectacle to the multitude. They were arraigned before the magistrates, who used them with civility; but could not release them, without an order of the King and Council. Till this arrived, they suffered a month's imprisonment; seven were bound over to the assize, and the others were released.

The next spring (1608) they made another attempt,* and hired a Dutch vessel, then lying in the harbour, to take them on board. The place agreed on was an unfrequented common, between Hull and Grimsby, remote from any houses. The women and children with the baggage were sent down the river in a small bark, and the men agreed to meet them by land; but they came to the place a day before the ship arrived. The water being rough, and the women sick, they prevailed on the pilot of the bark to put into a small creek, where they lay aground, when the Dutchman came and took one boat-load of the men on board. Before he could send for the others, a company of armed men appeared on horseback; which so frightened him, that he weighed anchor, and,

* Mather's Mag. II. 3.

and, the wind being fair, put to sea. Some of the men who were left behind, made their escape; others, who went to the assistance of the women, were with them apprehended and carried from one Justice of the Peace to another; but the Justices, not knowing what to do with so many helpless and distressed persons, dismissed them. Having sold their houses, cattle and furniture, they had no homes to which they could retire, and were therefore cast on the charity of their friends. Those who were hurried to sea without their families, and destitute even of a change of clothes, endured a terrible storm, in which neither sun, moon nor stars appeared for seven days. This storm drove them far to the northward, and they very narrowly escaped foundering. After fourteen days they arrived at Amsterdam, where the people were surprized at their deliverance; the tempest having been very severe, and much damage having been sustained, both at sea, and in the harbours of the continent.

This forlorn company of emigrants were soon after joined by their wives and families. The remainder of the church went over, in the following summer;* Mr. Robinson, with

a few

* Prince, 24.

a few others, remained to help the weakest, till they were all embarked.*

At Amsterdam, they found a congregation of their countrymen, who had the same religious views, and had emigrated before them,† Their minister was John Smith, a man of good abilities, and a popular preacher; but unsteady in his opinions.‡ These people fell into controversy, and were soon scattered. Fearing that the infection might spread, Robinson proposed to his church a further removal; to which, though much to their disadvantage, in a temporal view, they consented; and after one year spent at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden, where they continued eleven years. During this time, their number so increased, by frequent emigrations

* As nothing more is said of "the aged Mr. Clifton," it is probable that he died, before this embarkation.

† Prince, 19, 24, 26.

‡ Mr. Neal says, that he refined on the principles of the Brownists, and at last declared for the Baptists; that he left Amsterdam, and settled with a party at Ley; where, being at a loss for a proper administrator of baptism, he first plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony on others; which gained him the name of a *Se-baptist*. After this he embraced the principles of Arminius, and published a book, which Robinson answered in 1611; but Smith soon after died, and his congregation was dissolved.

emigrations from England, that they had in the church three hundred communicants.*

At Leyden they enjoyed much harmony among themselves,† and a friendly intercourse with the Dutch; who, observing their diligence and fidelity in their business, entertained so great a respect for them, that the magistrates of the city, (1619) in the seat of justice, having occasion to censure some of the French Protestants, who had a church there, made this public declaration. “These English have lived among us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them; but your quarrels are continual.”‡

The

* Cottton's preface to Robbins's ordination sermon.

† Governor HUTCHINSON (I presume through inattention) has misrepresented this matter, (Vol. II. 451), by saying, “that in the twelve years of their residence, in Holland, they had *contention* among themselves, *divided*, and became *two churches*. ” The *two* churches of Smith and Robinson subsisted distinctly and unconnectedly before they quitted England. It was to *avoid contention* that the latter removed from Amsterdam, where the former fell to pieces. Not the least evidence of *contention*, in the church of Leyden, appears in any of our first historians; but there is the fullest testimony of the contrary in all of them. No *division* took place, till the emigration of part of them to America, when the utmost harmony and love were manifested on the occasion.

‡ Morton, 5.

The year (1609) in which Mr. Robinson went to Leyden, was remarkable for the death of Jacobus Arminius, one of the Divinity Professors in the University of that city. Between his successor, Episcopius, and the other theological Professor, Polyander, there was much opposition ;* the former teaching the doctrine of Arminius, and the other that of Calvin. The controversy was so bitter, that the disciples of the one would scarcely hear the Lectures of the other. Robinson, though he preached constantly three times in the week, and was much engaged in writing, attended the discourses of each ; and became master of the arguments on both sides of the controverted questions. Being fully persuaded of the truth of the Calvinian system, and openly preaching it, his zeal and abilities rendered him formidable to the Arminians ; which induced Episcopius (1613) to publish several theses, and engage to defend them against all opposers.

Men of equal abilities and learning, but of different sentiments, are not easily induced to submission ; especially in a country where opinion is not fettered and restrained by the ruling power. Polyander, aided by the min-

isters

* Prince, 29, 36.

isters of the city, requested Robinson to accept the challenge. Though his vanity was flattered by the request, yet, being a stranger, he modestly declined the combat. But their pressing importunity prevailed over his reluctance ; and, judging it to be his duty, he, on a set day, held a public disputation with the Arminian Professor, in presence of a very numerous assembly.

It is usual, on such occasions, for the partizans on both sides to claim the victory for their respective champions. Whether it were so, at this time, cannot be determined, as we have no account of the controversy from the Arminian party. Governor Bradford, who was a member of Robinson's church, and probably present at the disputation, gives this account of it.* "He so defended the truth, and foiled the opposer, as to put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. The same he did a second and a third time, upon the like occasions ; which, as it caused many to give praise to God, that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procured for Mr. Robinson much respect and honour from these learned men and others."

When

* Prince, 38.

When Robinson first went to Holland, he was one of the most rigid separatists from the Church of England. He had written in defence of the separation, in answer to Dr. William Ames,* whose name, in the petulance of his wit, he had changed to Amisſ.† After his removal to Holland, he met with Dr. Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, an eminent Divine of Wiltshire, who had been obliged to fly thither from the terrors of the High Commission Court, under the direction of

Archbishop

* Dr. Ames was educated at Cambridge, under the famous Perkins, and became Fellow of Christ's College. In 1609 he gave offence to the Gentlemen of the University, by preaching against cards and dice; and to avoid prosecution for non-conformity, fled to Holland. He first settled at the Hague, whence he was invited by the States of Friesland to the chair of Theological Professor at Franeker, which he filled with reputation, for twelve years. He was an able controversial writer; his style was concise, and his arguments acute. He wrote several treatises against the Arminians, besides his famous *Medullæ Theologicae*. He afterward removed to Rotterdam; but the air of Holland not agreeing with his constitution, he determined to come to New-England. This was prevented by his death, in 1633. His widow and family afterward came over, and his posterity have been respectable ever since. His valuable library became the property of Harvard College, where it was consumed by fire, in 1764.

Prince, 29. Neal's Pur. II. 47, 265, &c.

† Hubbard's MS. Hist. p. 36.

Archbishop Bancroft. In a free conversation with these gentlemen, Robinson was convinced of his mistake, submitted to the reproof of Dr. Ames, and became, ever after, more moderate in his sentiments respecting separation. In a book which he published, (1610) he allowed and defended the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of England, "in the word and prayer," that is, in the extempore prayer, before the sermon, though not in the use of the Liturgy, nor in the indiscriminate admission to the sacraments. Yet he would allow the pious members of the Church of England, and of all the reformed churches, to communicate with his church; declaring that he separated from no church; but from the corruptions of all churches. This book gained him the title of a Semi-separatist, and was so offensive to the rigid Brownists of Amsterdam, that they would scarcely hold communion with the Church of Leyden. These were called Robinsonians and Independents; but the name by which they distinguished themselves, was, a Congregational Church.

Their grand principle was the same which was afterward held and defended by Chillingworth

worth and Hoadley, that the Scriptures, given by inspiration, contain the true religion; that every man has a right to judge for himself of their meaning; to try all doctrines by them, and to worship God according to the dictates of his own enlightened conscience.* They admitted, for truth, the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, as well as of the reformed churches in France, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces;† allowing all their members free communion, and differing from them only in matters of an ecclesiastical nature. Respecting these, they held, (1.) That no church ought

* Prince, 91—93. Cotton's Preface.

† The words of Robinson in his Apology, as cited by Neal, are as follow. Neal's Pur. 8vo. II. 49.

“ Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus, adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis reformatis, Belgicis, in re religionis, ut omnibus et singulis earundem Ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in harmonia confessionum fidei, paratus sumus subscribere. Ecclesiis reformatas pro veris et genuinis, habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et quantum in nobis est, colimus. Conciones Publicas ab illarum Pastoribus habitas, ex nostris qui nuntiunt linguam Belgicam frequentant. Sacram cœnam earum membris, si qua forte nostris cœtibus intersint nobis cognita, participamus.”

ought to consist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline. (2.) That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him. (3.) That any competent number of such have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church. (4.) That this incorporation is, by some contract or covenant, express'd or implied. (5.) That, being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers. (6.) That these officers are *Pastors* or teaching Elders, *Ruling Elders* and *Deacons*. (7.) That elders being chosen and ordained have no power to rule the church but by consent of the brethren. (8.) That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges. (9.) With respect to ordinances, they held, that *baptism* is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children; but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's Supper is to be received sitting at the table; whilst they were in Holland, they received it every Lord's Day. That ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with

with temporal penalties. (10.) They admitted no holy days but the Christian Sabbath, though they had occasionally days of fasting and thanksgiving. And, finally, they renounced all right of human invention or imposition in religious matters.

Having enjoyed their liberty in Holland eight or nine years, in which time they had become acquainted with the country and the manners of its inhabitants, they began to think of another removal (1617.) The reasons of which, were these.* (1.) Most of them had been bred to the business of husbandry in England ; but, in Holland, they were obliged to learn mechanical trades, and use various methods for their subsistence, which were not so agreeable to them as cultivation. (2.) The language, manners and habits of the Dutch were not rendered pleasing by familiarity ; and, in particular, the loose and careless manner in which the Sabbath was regarded in Holland, gave them great offence. (3.) The climate was unfavourable to their health ; many of them were in the decline of life ; their children, oppressed with labour and disease, became infirm,

* Morton, 3—6. Math. Mag. II. 2.

firm, and the vigour of nature seemed to abate at an early age. (4.) The licentiousness in which youth was indulged, was a pernicious example to their children; some of whom became sailors, others soldiers, and many were dissolute in their morals; nor could their parents restrain them, without giving offence, and incurring reproach. These considerations afforded them the melancholy prospect, that their posterity would, in time, become so mixed with the Dutch, as to lose their interest in the English nation, to which they had a natural and strong attachment. (5.) They observed, also, that many other English people, who had gone to Holland, suffered in their health and substance; and either returned home to bear the inconveniences from which they had fled, or were reduced to poverty abroad. For these reasons they concluded that Holland was not a country in which they could hope for a permanent and agreeable residence.

The question then was, to what part of the world should they remove, where they might expect freedom from the burdens under which they had formerly groaned, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which they had lately enjoyed.

The

The Dutch merchants, being apprized of their discontent, made them large offers, if they would go to some of their foreign plantations ; but their attachment to the English nation and government was invincible.* Sir Walter Raleigh had, about this time, raised the fame of Guiana; a rich and fertile country of America, between the tropics, blessed with a perpetual spring; and productive of every thing which could satisfy the wants of man, with little labour. To this country the views of some of the most sanguine were directed ; but considering that, in such warm climates, diseases were generated, which often proved fatal to European constitutions, and that their nearest neighbours would be the Spaniards, who, though they had not actually occupied the country, yet claimed it as their own, and might easily dispossess them, as they had the French of Florida ; the major part disapproved of this proposal.

They then turned their thoughts toward that part of America, comprehended under the general name of Virginia.† There, if they should join the Colony already established, they must submit to the government

of

* Hubbard's MS. History, 37.

† Prince, 50. Hazard, I. 359.

of the Church of England. If they should attempt a new plantation, the horrors of a wilderness, and the cruelties of its savage inhabitants were presented to their view. It was answered, that the Dutch had begun to plant within these limits, and were unmolested ; that all great undertakings were attended with difficulties ; but that the prospect of danger did not render the enterprize desperate ; that, should they remain in Holland, they were not free from danger, as a truce between the United Provinces and Spain, which had subsisted twelve years, was nearly expired, and preparations were making to renew the war ; that the Spaniards, if successful, might prove as cruel as the savages ; and that liberty, both civil and religious, was altogether precarious in Europe. These considerations determined their views toward the uninhabited part of North-America, claimed by their native prince, as part of his dominions ; and their hope was, that by emigrating hither, they might make way for the propagation of the Christian religion in a heathen land, though (to use a phrase of their own) “they should be but as stepping-stones to others,” who might come after them.

These

These things were first debated in private, and afterward proposed to the whole Congregation, who, after mature deliberation, and a devout address to Heaven, determined to make application to the Virginia Company in London, and to inquire whether King James would *grant* them liberty of conscience in his American dominions. John Carver and Robert Cushman were appointed their agents on this occasion, and letters were written by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, their ruling elder, in the name of the Congregation, to Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir John Worstenholme, two principal members of the Virginia Company.

In those letters they recommended themselves as proper persons for emigration,* because they were “weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so inured to the difficulties of a strange land, that no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home ; that they had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial ; and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole Company, and of every individual

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* Hazard, 52.

vidual person." They also gave a succinct and candid account of their religious principles and practices, for the information of the King and his Council.

The answer which they received was as favourable as they could expect. The Virginia Company promised them as ample privileges as were in their power to grant.* It was thought prudent not to deliver their letter to the King and Council; but application was made to Sir Robert Norton, Secretary of State, who employed his interest with Archbishop Abbot; and by means of his mediation, the King promised to connive at their religious practices; but he denied them toleration under the great seal. With this answer, and some private encouragement, the agents returned to Holland.

It was impossible for them to transport themselves to America, without assistance from the merchant adventurers in England. Further agency and agreements were necessary. The dissensions in the Virginia Company were tedious and violent; and it was not till after two whole years, that all the necessary provisions and arrangements could be made for their voyage.

In

* Hubbard, 38.

In the beginning of 1620, they kept a solemn day of prayer,* when Mr. Robinson delivered a discourse from 1 Samuel, xxiii. 3, 4; in which he endeavoured to remove their doubts, and confirm their resolutions. It had been previously determined, that a part of them should go to America, and prepare the way for the others; and that if a major part should consent to go, the Pastor should go with them; otherwise, he should remain in Holland. It was found, on examination, that though a major part was willing to go, yet they could not all get ready in season; therefore, the greater number being obliged to stay, they required Mr. Robinson to stay with them. Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, was appointed to go with the minority, who were “to be an absolute Church of themselves, as well as those that should stay; with this proviso, that, as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without further dismission or testimonial.” The others were to follow as soon as possible.

In July, they kept another day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson preached to them from Ezra viii. 21,§ and concluded his discourse with

* Prince, 66.

§ Neal's New-England, I. 78.

with an exhortation, which breathes a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous, because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day.

“ Brethren, (said he,) we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the GOD of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before GOD and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther, than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

“ If God reveal any thing to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded—I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go, at present, no further than the instruments of their reformation.

reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw ; Whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left, by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

" This is a misery much to be lamented ; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they *penefrated not* into the whole counsel of God ; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember, it is an article of your church covenant, " That you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you, from the written word of GOD." Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it ; for it is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness,

ness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of BROWN-IST. It is a mere nick-name; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world."

Having said this, with some other things relating to their private conduct, he devoutly committed them to the care and protection of Divine Providence.

On the 21st of July, the intended passengers quitted Leyden, to embark at Delft-haven; to which place they were accompanied by many of their brethren and friends, several of whom had come from Amsterdam to take their leave of them. The evening was spent, till very late, in friendly conversation; and the next morning, the wind being fair, they went on board; where Mr. Robinson, on his knees, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, again committed them to their divine Protector, and with many tears, they parted.

After their arrival in New-England, he kept up a friendly correspondence with them; and when any of them went to Europe,

Europe, they were received by him with the most cordial welcome. The difficulties which then attended a voyage across the Atlantic, the expense of an equipment for a new Colony, and the hardships necessarily incident to a plantation in a distant wilderness, proved a burden almost too great for those who came over. They had a hard struggle to support themselves here, and pay the debts which they had contracted in England ; whilst those who remained in Holland, were in general too poor to bear the expense of a removal to America, without the help of their brethren who had come before them. These things prevented Mr. Robinson from gratifying his earnest desire to visit his American brethren, and their equally ardent wish to see him, till he was removed by death to a better country.*

He

* Morton in his Memorial (p. 86) says, that "his and their *adversaries* had long been *plotting* how they might hinder his coming to New-England." Hutchinson (Vol. ii. p. 454) says, "he was prevented by *disappointments*, from those in England, who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his Congregation." Whether these disappointments were designed or unavoidable, cannot now be determined. Candour would lead us to suppose the latter. But the former supposition is within the limits of credibility.

He continued with his church at Leyden, in good health, and with a fair prospect of living to a more advanced age, till Saturday, the 22d of February, 1625, when he was seized with an inward ague; which, however distressing, did not prevent his preaching twice on the next day.* Through the following week, his disorder increased in malignity, and on Saturday, March 1, put an end to his valuable life; in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the height of his reputation and usefulness.

Mr. Robinson was a man of a good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity and candour. His classic literature and acuteness in disputation were acknowledged by his adversaries. His manners were easy, courteous and obliging. His preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from the Episcopal Church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and by experience and conversation with good men, he became moderate and charitable,

* Collections of the Historical Society for 1795, p. 40.

charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart, when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candid and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the reformers as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honour to his memory ; evi-dencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good conscience. He was also possessed in an eminent degree of the talent of peace-making, and was happy in composing differences among neighbours and in families ; so that peace and unity were preserved in his congregation.* It is said that “such was the reciprocal love and respect between him and his flock, that it might be said of them as it was said of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge, whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a Pastor.” Besides his singular abilities in

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* Hazard, I. 355.

moral and theological matters, he was very discerning and prudent in civil affairs, and able to give them good advice in regard to their secular and political conduct. He was highly esteemed, not only by his own flock, but by the magistracy and clergy of Leyden, who gave him the use of one of their churches, in the chancel of which he was buried. Mr. Prince, who visited that city in 1714*, says that the most ancient people then living told him from their parents, that the whole city and university regarded him as a great and good man, whose death they sincerely lamented ; and that they honoured his funeral with their presence.

This event proved the dissolution of the church over which he had presided at Leyden. Some of them removed to Amsterdam, some to other parts of the Netherlands, and others came to New-England, among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to the age of ninety, and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

* Annals, p. 160.

XXII. JOHN CARVER.

WE have no particulars of the life of Mr. Carver, previous to his appointment as one of the agents of the English Congregational Church, in Leyden.* At that time he was in high esteem, as a grave, pious, prudent, judicious man, and sustained the office of a deacon. In the letters written by Sir Edwin Sandys, of the Virginia Company, to Mr. Robinson, the agents are said to have "carried themselves with good discretion."

The business of the agency was long delayed by the discontents and factions in the Company of Virginia, by the removal of their former Treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and the enmity between him and Sir Edwin Sandys, his successor. At length, a patent was obtained, under the Company's seal; but, by the advice of some friends, it was taken in the name of John Wincob, a religious gentleman, belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany the adventurers to America. This patent and

* Hubbard's MS. page 38.

and the proposals of Thomas Weston of London, merchant, and other persons who appeared friendly to the design, were carried to Leyden in the autumn of 1619, for the consideration of the people. At the same time there was a plan forming for a new council in the West of England, to superintend the plantation and fishery of North Virginia, the name of which was changed to *New-England*.* To this expected establishment, Weston, and the other merchants began to incline, chiefly from the hope of present gain by the fishery. This caused some embarrassment, and a variety of opinions ; but, considering that the council for New-England was not yet incorporated, and that if they should wait for that event, they might be detained another year, before which time the war between the Dutch and the Spaniards might be renewed, the majority concluded to take the patent, which had been obtained from the Company of South Virginia, and emigrate to some place near Hudson's River, which was within their territory.

The

* See Vol. I. p. 306.

The next spring, (1620) Weston himself went over to Leyden, where the people entered into articles of agreement with him, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation. Carver and Cushman were again sent to London, to receive the money and provide for the voyage. When they came there, they found the other merchants so very penurious and severe, that they were obliged to consent to some alteration in the articles ; which though not relished by their constituents, yet were so strongly insisted on, that without them, the whole adventure must have been frustrated.

The articles, with their amendments, were these.* “(1.) The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds ; and that ten pounds be accounted a single share. (2.) That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share. (3.) The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock

* Hubbard's MS. 40. Hazard's Collections, I. 87.

stock and partnership, the space of *seven years*, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the *common stock*, until the division.

(4.) That at their coming there, they shall choose out such a number of fit persons, as may furnish their ships and boats, for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest, in their several faculties, upon the land; as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

(5.) That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattels be equally divided among the adventurers; if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure*—

(6.) Whosoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall, at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

(7.) He that shall carry his wife,

or

* Here something seems to be wanting which cannot now be supplied.

or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years, and upward, a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

(8.) That such children as now go, and are under ten years of age, have no other share in the division, than fifty acres of unmanured land. (9.) That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or shares, at the division; proportionally to the time of their life in the Colony. (10.) That all such persons as are of the Colony, are to have meat, drink and apparel out of the common stock and goods of the said Colony."

The difference between the articles as first agreed on, and as finally concluded, lay in these two points. (1.) In the former, it was provided that "the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home-fields, should remain undivided, wholly to the planters at the end of the seven years;" but, in the latter, the houses and lands were to be equally divided. (2.) In the former, the

planters

planters were “allowed two days in the week, for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and families, especially such as had them to take care for.” In the latter, this article was wholly omitted.

On these hard conditions, and with this small encouragement, the pilgrims of Leyden, supported by a pious confidence in the Supreme Disposer of all things, and animated by a fortitude, resulting from the steady principles of the religion, which they professed, determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and embark for America.

With the proceeds of their own estates, put into a common stock, and the assistance of the merchants, to whom they had mortgaged their labour and trade for seven years, two vessels were provided. One in Holland, of sixty tons, called the Speedwell, commanded by a Captain Reynolds, which was intended to transport some of them to America, and there to remain in their service, one year, for fishing and other uses. Another of one hundred and eighty tons, called the May-flower, was chartered by Mr. Cushman in London, and sent round to Southampton

ton in Hampshire, whither Mr. Carver went to superintend her equipment. This vessel was commanded by a Captain Jones, and after discharging her passengers in America, was to return to England. Seven hundred pounds sterling were expended in provisions and stores, and other necessary preparations ; and the value of the trading venture which they carried was seventeen hundred pounds. Mr. Weston came from London to Southampton, to see them dispatched. The Speedwell, with the passengers, having arrived there from Leyden, and the necessary officers being chosen to govern the people and take care of the provisions and stores on the voyage ; both ships, carrying one hundred and twenty passengers, sailed from Southampton on the fifth day of August, 1620.

They had not sailed many leagues, down the channel, before Reynolds, Master of the Speedwell, complained that his vessel was too leaky to proceed.* Both ships then put in at Dartmouth, where the Speedwell was searched and repaired ; and the workmen judged her sufficient for the voyage. On the twenty-first of August, they put to sea again ;

Z

and,

* Prince, 71. Morton, 13.

and, having sailed in company about one hundred leagues, Reynolds renewed his complaints against his ship ; declaring, that by constant pumping he could scarcely keep her above water ; on which, both ships again put back to Plymouth. Another search was made; and no defect appearing, the leaky condition of the ship was judged to be owing to her general weakness, and she was pronounced unfit for the voyage. About twenty of the passengers went on shore. The others, with their provisions, were received on board the May-flower ; and, on the sixth of September, the Company, consisting of one hundred and one passengers, (besides the ship's officers and crew) took their last leave of England, having consumed a whole month in these vexatious and expensive delays.

The true causes of these misadventures did not then appear. One was, that the Speed-well was overmasted ; which error being remedied, the vessel afterward made several safe and profitable voyages. But the principal cause was the deceit of the Master and crew ; who having engaged to remain a whole year in the service of the Colony, and apprehending hard fare in that employment,

were

were glad of such an excuse to rid themselves of the bargain.

The May-flower, Jones, proceeded with fair winds in the former part of her voyage ; and then met with bad weather and contrary winds, so that for several days no sail could be carried. The ship laboured so much in the sea, that one of the main beams sprung, which renewed the fears and distress of the passengers. They had then made about one half of their voyage, and the chief of the Company began a consultation with the commander of the ship, whether it were better to proceed or to return. But one of the passengers having on board a large iron screw, it was applied to the beam, and forced it into its place. This successful effort determined them to proceed.

No other particulars of this long and tedious voyage are preserved ;* but that the ship being leaky, and the people close stowed, were continually wet ; that one young man, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died at sea ; and that one child was born, and called *Oceanus* ; he was son of Stephen Hopkins.

On

* Smith, 230.

On the ninth of November, at break of day, they made land, which proved to be the white sandy cliffs of Cape Cod. This land-fall being further northward than they intended, they immediately put about the ship to the southward ; and, before noon, found themselves among shoals and breakers.* Had they pursued their southern course, as the weather was fine, they might, in a few hours more, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward, agreeably to their original design, which was to go to Hudson's River. But having been so long at sea, the sight of any land was welcome to women and children ; the new danger was formidable ; and the eagerness of the passengers to be set on shore was irresistible. These circumstances, coinciding with the secret views of the Master, who had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West-India Company, if he would not carry them to Hudson's River,† induced him to put about to

* These shoals lie off the south-east extremity of the cape, which was called by Gosnold, *Point Care*, by the Dutch and French, *Malebarre*, and is now known by the name of *Sandy-Point*.

† Of this plot between Jones and the Dutch, Secretary Morton says he had *certain* intelligence.

to the northward. Before night, the ship was clear of the danger. The next day they doubled the northern extremity of the Cape, (Race-Point) and, a storm coming on, the ship was brought to anchor in Cape Cod harbour, where she lay perfectly secure from winds and shoals.

This harbour, being in the forty-second degree of north latitude, was without the territory of the South Virginia Company. The charter which these emigrants had received from them, of course became useless. Some symptoms of faction, at the same time, appearing among the servants, who had been received on board in England, purporting that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would be as good as another;* it was thought proper, by the most judicious persons, to have recourse to natural law; and that, before disembarkation, they should enter into an association, and combine themselves in a political body, to be governed by the majority. To this they consented; and, after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument being

* Mourt's Relation, in Purchas, vol. v. 1843. Prince,
84. Hutch. II. 456.

ing drawn, they subscribed it with their own hands, and, by a unanimous vote, chose JOHN CARVER their governor for one year,

The instrument was conceived in these terms. "In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and country, a voyage, to plant the first Colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of GOD and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid ; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod,

the

the eleventh day of November, in the year of
the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James
of England, France and Ireland, the eight-
eenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth.
Anno Domini 1620." †

Government

† The names of the subscribers are placed in the following order by Secretary Morton; but Mr. Prince, with his usual accuracy, has compared the list with Governor Bradford's MS. History, and added their titles, and the number of each one's family which came over at this time; observing that some left the whole, and others part of their families, either in England or Holland, who came over afterward. He has also been so curious as to note those who brought their wives, marked with a (+) and those who died before the end of the next March, distinguished by an asterism (*).

Mr. John Carver, †	8	Mr. Stephen Hopkins, †	8
Mr. William Bradford, †	2	* Edward Tilly, †	4
Mr. Edward Winslow, †	5	* John Tilly, †	3
Mr. William Brewster, †	6	Francis Cook,	2
Mr. Isaac Allerton, †	6	* Thomas Rogers,	2
Capt. Miles Standish, †	2	* Thomas Tinker, †	3
John Alden,	1	* John Ridgdale, †	2
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	* Edward Fuller, †	3
* Mr. Christopher Martin, †	4	* John Turner,	3
* Mr. William Mullins, †	5	Francis Eaton, †	3
* Mr. William White, †	5	* James Chilton, †	3
[besides a son born in Cape Cod harbour, and named Peregrine.]		* John Crackston,	2
Mr. Richard Warren,	1	John Billington, †	4
John Howland, [of Car- ver's family.]		* Moses Fletcher,	2
		* John Goodman,	2
		* Degory Priest,	1
		* Thomas Williams,	1

Gilbert

Government being thus regularly established, on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent on shore, as soon as the weather would permit, to fetch wood and make discoveries. § They returned at night, with a boat-load of juniper wood; and made report, "that they found the land to be a narrow neck, having the harbour on one side, and the ocean on the other; that the ground consisted of sand-hills, like the Downs in Holland; that in some places the soil was black earth "a spit's depth;" that the trees were oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash, and walnut; that the forest was open and without underwood; that no inhabitants, houses, nor fresh water were to be seen." This account was as much as could be collected in one Saturday's afternoon. The next day they rested.

Whilst

Gilbert Winslow,	1	* John Allerton,	1
* Edmund Margefon,	1	* Thomas English,	1
Peter Brown,	1	Edward Dotey, { both of	
* Richard Britteridge,	1	Edward Leister, } Stephen	
George Soule, [of Edward Winslow's family.]		[Hopkins's family.]	
* Richard Clarke,	1	Total persons,	101
Richard Gardiner,	1	Of whom were subscribers,	41

§ Mount's Relation.

Whilst they lay in this harbour, which was the space of five weeks, they saw great flocks of sea-fowl and whales, every day playing about them. The master and mate, who had been acquainted with the fishery, in the northern seas of Europe, supposed that they might, in that time, have made oil, to the value of three or four thousand pounds. It was too late in the season for cod ; and, indeed, they caught none but small fish, near the shore, and shell-fish. The margin of the sea was so shallow, that they were obliged to wade ashore ; and, the weather being severe, many of them took colds and coughs, which, in the course of the winter, proved mortal.

On Monday, the thirteenth of November, the women went ashore, under a guard, to wash their clothes ; and the men were impatient for a further discovery. The shallop, which had been cut down and stowed between decks, needed repairing, in which seventeen days were employed. Whilst this was doing, they proposed that excursions might be made on foot. Much caution was necessary in an enterprize of this kind, in a new and savage country. After consultation and preparation, sixteen men were equipped

with musket and ammunition, sword and corslet, under the command of Captain Miles Standish, who had William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Tilly for his Council of War. After many instructions given, they were rather permitted than ordered to go, and the time of their absence was limited to two days.

When they had travelled one mile by the shore, they saw five or six of the natives, who, on sight of them, fled. They attempted to pursue ; and, lighting on their track, followed them till night ; but the thickets through which they had to pass, the weight of their armour, and their debility, after a long voyage, made them an unequal match, in point of travelling, to these nimble sons of nature. They rested, at length, by a spring, which afforded them the first refreshing draught of American water.

The discoveries made in this march were few, but novel and amusing. In one place they found a deer-trap, made by the bending of a young tree to the earth, with a noose under ground, covered with acorns. Mr. Bradford's foot was caught in the trap, from which his companions disengaged him, and they

they were all entertained with the ingenuity of the device. In another place they came to an Indian burying-ground ; and, in one of the graves, they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow and arrows, and other implements, all which they very carefully replaced ; because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar, carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which about four bushels of seed-corn in ears were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to pay them to their satisfaction. On the third day they arrived, weary and welcome, where the ship lay, and delivered their corn into the common store. The Company resolved to keep it for seed, and to pay the natives the full value, when they should have opportunity.

When the shallop was repaired and rigged, twenty-four of the Company ventured on a second excursion to the same place, to make a further discovery ; having Captain Jones for their commander, with ten of his seamen and the ship's long-boat. The wind being high,

high, and the sea rough, the shallop came to anchor under the land, whilst part of the Company waded on shore from the long-boat, and travelled, as they supposed, six or seven miles, having directed the shallop to follow them the next morning. The weather was very cold, with snow, and the people, having no shelter, took such colds as afterward proved fatal to many.

Before noon the next day the shallop took them on board, and sailed to the place which they denominated *Cold Harbour*.* Finding it not navigable for ships, and consequently not proper for their residence, after shooting some geese and ducks, which they devoured with "soldiers' stomachs," they went in search of seed-corn. The ground was frozen

* Mr. Prince conjectures this place to have been Barnstable harbour. (p. 74.) But neither the time nor distance can agree with this conjecture. Barnstable is more than 50 miles from Cape Cod harbour by land; a distance which they could not have travelled and back again in three short days of November. I rather think, after inquiry of gentlemen well acquainted with Cape Cod, that Cold Harbour is the mouth of Paomet Creek, between Truro and Welfleet; and the description given in Mourt's Relation corresponds with this idea. Paomet is a tide harbour for boats, distant between three and four leagues from the harbour of Cape Cod. See Collections of Historical Society for 1794, Vol. III. p. 196.

frozen and covered with snow ; but the cellars were known by heaps of sand ; and the frozen earth was penetrated with their swords, till they gathered corn to the amount of ten bushels. This fortunate supply, with a quantity of beans preserved in the same manner, they took on the same condition as before ; and, it is remarked by Governor Bradford, that in six months after, they paid the owners to their entire satisfaction.* The acquisition of this corn, they always regarded as a particular favour of Divine Providence, without which the Colony could not have subsisted.

Captain Jones in the shallop went back to the ship with the corn and fifteen of the weakest of the people ; intending to send mattocks and spades the next day. The eighteen who remained, marched, as they supposed, five or six miles into the woods, and returning another way, discovered a mound of earth, in which they hoped to find more corn. On opening it, nothing appeared but the skull of a man, preserved in red earth, the skeleton of an infant, and such arms, utensils and ornaments, as are usually deposited

* Prince, 75.

deposited in Indian graves.* Not far distant were two deserted wigwams, with their furniture and some venison, so ill preserved that even "soldiers' stomachs" could not relish it. On the arrival of the shallop, they returned to the ship, the first of December. During their absence, the wife of William White had been delivered of a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine.†

At this time they held a consultation respecting their future settlement.‡ Some thought that Cold Harbour might be a proper place, because though not deep enough for ships it might be convenient for boats, and because a valuable fishery for whales and

cod

* Mourt, 1846.

† The following account of him is extracted from the Boston news-letter of July 31, 1704, being the fifteenth number of the first newspaper printed in New England. "Marshfield, July 22: Captain *Peregrine White*, of this town, aged eighty-three years and eight months, died here the 20th instant. He was vigorous and of a comely aspect, to the last; was the Son of William White and Saffanna his wife, born on board the May-flower, Captain Jones commander, in Cape Cod harbour, November 1620, the first Englishman born in New-England. Although he was in the former part of his life extravagant; yet he was much reformed in his last years, and died hopefully."

‡ Morton, 23.

cod might be carried on there. The land was partly cleared of wood and good for corn, as appeared from the seed. It was also likely to be healthful and defensible. But the principal reasons were, that the winter was so far advanced as to prevent coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boats; that the winds were variable, and the storms sudden and violent; that by cold and wet lodging the people were much affected with coughs, which, if they should not soon obtain shelter, would prove mortal; that provisions were daily consuming and the ship must reserve sufficient for the homeward voyage, whatever became of the Colony.

Others thought it best to go to a place called Agawam, twenty leagues northward, where they had heard of an excellent harbour, good fishing, and a better soil for planting. To this it was answered, that there might possibly be as good a place, nearer to them. Robert Coppin, their pilot, who had been here before, assured them, that he knew of a good harbour and a navigable river, not more than eight leagues across the bay to the westward. Upon the whole, they resolved

to

to send the shallop round the shore of the bay on discovery, but not beyond the harbour of which Coppin had informed them.

On Wednesday, the sixth of December, Governor Carver, with nine of the principal men, well armed, and the same number of seamen, of which Coppin was one, went out in the shallop. The weather was so cold, that the spray of the sea froze on their coats, till they were cased with ice, "like coats of iron." They sailed by the eastern shore of the bay, as they judged, six or seven leagues, without finding any river or creek. At length they saw "a tongue of land,"* being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point; they bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income, or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and two or three in length; but they made right over to the land before them." As they came near the shore, they saw ten or twelve Indians, cutting up a grampus, who on sight of them ran away, carrying pieces of the fish which they had cut. They landed at the distance of a league or more from the grampus, with great difficulty,

* This "tongue of land" is Billingsgate Point, the western shore of Welfleet harbour.

difficulty, on account of the flat fands. Here they built a barricade, and, placing centinels, lay down to rest.

The next morning, Thursday, December 7th, they divided themselves into two parties: eight in the shallop, and the rest on shore, to make further discovery of this place, which they found to be “a bay, without either river or creek coming into it.” They gave it the name of *Grampus Bay*, because they saw many fish of that species. They tracked the Indians on the sand, and found a path into the woods, which they followed a great way, till they came to old corn-fields and a spacious burying-ground, inclosed with pales. They ranged the wood till the close of the day, and then came down to the shore to meet the shallop which they had not seen since the morning. At high water she put into a creek; and, six men being left on board, two came on shore and lodged with their companions, under cover of a barricade and a guard.

On Friday, December 8th, they rose at five in the morning, to be ready to go on board at high water. At the dawn of day they were surprised with the war-cry of the

natives, and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and on the first discharge of musketry all the Indians fled, but one stout man, who stood three shots, behind a tree, and then retired, as they supposed wounded. They took up eighteen arrows, headed either with brass, deers' horns, or birds' claws, which they sent as a present to their friends in England. This unwelcome reception, and the shoal water of the place,* determined them to seek further. They sailed along the shore as near as the extensive shoals would permit, but saw no harbour. The weather began to look threatening, and Coppin assured them that they might reach the harbour, of which he had some knowledge, before night. The wind being southeasterly, they put themselves before it.† After some hours it began to rain; the storm increasing, their rudder broke, their mast sprung,

* Morton says, "This is thought to be a place called *Namskeket*." (p. 25.) A creek which now bears the name of *Skakit*, lies between Eastham and Harwich; distant about three or four miles westward from *Nauset*; the seat of a tribe of Indians, who (as they afterward learned) made this attack.

† The distance directly across the bay from *Skakit* is about 12 leagues; in Prince's Annals it is said they sailed 15 leagues.

sprung, and their sails fell overboard. In this piteous plight, steering with two oars, the wind and the flood tide carried them into a cove full of breakers, and it being dark, they were in danger of being driven on shore. The pilot confessed that he knew not the place; but a stout seaman, who was steering, called to the rowers to put about and row hard. This effort happily brought them out of the cove, into a fair sound, and under a point of land, where they came safely to anchor. They were divided in their opinions about going on shore; but about midnight, the wind shifting to the north-west; the severity of the cold made a fire necessary. They therefore got on shore, and with some difficulty kindled a fire, and rested in safety.

In the morning they found themselves on a small uninhabited island, within the entrance of a spacious bay.* Here they staid all the next day (Saturday) drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing, as well as they could, their shallop. The following

* This island has ever since borne the name of *Clark's Island*, from the mate of the ship, the first man who stepped on shore. The cove where they were in danger, lies between the Gurnet Head, and Saguish Point, at the entrance of Plymouth Bay.

lowing day, being the Christian Sabbath, they rested.

On Monday, December 11th, they surveyed and sounded the bay, which is described to be "in the shape of a fish-hook; a good harbour for shipping, larger than that of Cape Cod; containing two small islands without inhabitants; innumerable store of fowls, different sorts of fish, besides shell-fish in abundance. As they marched into the land,* they found corn-fields and brooks, and a very good situation for building."† With this joyful news, they returned to the Company; and on the 16th of December the ship came to anchor in the harbour, with all the passengers, except four, who died at Cape Cod.

Having surveyed the land, as well as the season would permit, in three days; they pitched upon a high ground on the south-west

* The rock on which they first stepped ashore, at high water is now enclosed with a wharf. The upper part of it has been separated from the lower part, and drawn into the public square of the town of Plymouth, where it is distinguished by the name of *The Forefather's Rock*. The 22d of December (Gregorian style) is regarded by the people of Plymouth as a festival.

† Mourt's Relation in Purchas, v. 1847.

west side of the bay, which was cleared of wood, and had formerly been planted. Under the south side of it, was "a very sweet brook, in the entrance of which the shallop and boats could be secured, and many delicate springs of as good water as could be drank." On the opposite side of the brook was a cleared field, and beyond it a commanding eminence, on which they intended to lay a platform, and mount their cannon.

They went immediately to work, laying out house-lots, and a street; felling, sawing, riving and carrying timber; and before the end of December, though much interrupted by stormy weather, by the death of two, and the sickness of many of their number, they had erected a store-house, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited, under a guard. Two rows of houses were begun, and as fast as they could be covered, the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore, and lodged in them. On Lord's day, the 31st of December, they attended divine service, for the first time on shore, and named the place PLYMOUTH; partly because this harbour was so called in Captain Smith's map,

published

published three or four years before, and partly in remembrance of the very kind and friendly treatment which they had received from the inhabitants of Plymouth, the last port of their native country from which they sailed.

At this time, some of the people lodged on shore, and others on board the ship, which lay at the distance of a mile and a half from the town ; and when the tide was out, there could be no communication between them. On the 14th of January, very early in the morning, as Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford lay sick in bed, at the store-house, the thatched roof, by means of a spark, caught on fire, and was soon consumed ; but, by the timely assistance of the people on shore, the lower part of the building was preserved. Here were deposited their whole stock of ammunition, and several loaded guns ; but happily the fire did not reach them. The fire was seen by the people on board the ship, who could not come on shore till an hour afterward. They were greatly alarmed at the appearance, because two men, who had strolled into the woods, were missing, and they were apprehensive that the Indians had made

made an attack on the place. In the evening the strollers found their way home, almost dead with hunger, fatigue and cold.

The bad weather and severe hardships to which this Company were exposed, in a climate much more rigorous than any to which they had ever been accustomed, with the scrofulic habits contracted in their voyage, and by living so long on shipboard, caused a great mortality among them in the winter. Before the month of April, nearly one half* of them died. At some times, the number of the sick was so great, that not more than six or seven were fit for duty, and these were almost wholly employed in attending the sick. The ship's company was in the same situation; and Captain Jones, though earnestly desirous to get away, was obliged to stay till April, having lost one half of his men.

By the beginning of March, the Governor was so far recovered of his first illness, that he

* The exact bill of mortality, as collected by Mr. Prince, is as follows:

In December	6	Of these, 21 were subscribers to
In January	8	the civil compact.
In February	17	and 23 were women, children
In March	13	and servants.
Total	44	— 44 —

he was able to walk three miles, to visit a large pond, which Francis Billington had discovered, from the top of a tree on a hill. At first it was supposed to be part of the ocean; but it proved to be the head water of the brook which runs by the town. It has ever since borne the name of the first discoverer, which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Hitherto they had not seen any of the natives at this place.* The mortal pestilence which raged through the country, four years before, had almost depopulated it. One remarkable circumstance attending this pestilence was not known till after this settlement was made. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod.† The men were saved, with their provisions and goods.‡ The natives kept their eye on them, till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another, as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language, as to tell them that “God was angry with

* See Gorges's Life, in Vol. I. p. 355.

† Mourt in Pur. 1849.

‡ Morton, 36.

with them, for their cruelty, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people." They answered that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied, that "if they were ever so many, God had many ways to kill them, of which they were then ignorant." When the pestilence came among them, (a new disease, probably the yellow fever,*[†]) they remembered the Frenchman's words; and when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cape Cod, the few survivors imagined that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished. Soon after their arrival, the Indian priests or powows convened, and performed their incantations in a dark swamp three days successively, with a view to curse and destroy the new comers. Had they known the mortality which raged among them, they would doubtless have rejoiced in the success of their endeavours, and might very easily have taken advantage of their weakness to exterminate them. But none of them were seen, till after the sickness had abated; though some tools, which had been left in the woods, were missing, which they had stolen in the night.

Cc

On

* See Vol. I. p. 356.

On the sixteenth of March, when the spring was so far advanced as to invite them to make their gardens, a savage came boldly into the place alone, walked through the street, to the rendezvous or store-house, and pronounced the words *Welcome, Englishmen!* his name was Samoset; he belonged to a place, distant five days journey to the eastward, and had learned of the fishermen to speak broken English.

He was received with kindness and hospitality, and he informed them, "that by the late pestilence, and a ferocious war, the number of his countrymen had been so diminished, that not more than one in twenty remained; that the spot where they were now seated was called Patukset, and though formerly populous, yet every human being in it had died of the pestilence." This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

The account which he gave of himself, was, "that he had been absent from home eight moons, part of the time among the Nausets, their nearest neighbours at the south-east, who were about one hundred strong, and

and more lately among the Wompaneags at the westward, who were about sixty ; that he had heard of the attack made on them by the Naufets at Namskeket ; that these people were full of resentment against the Europeans, on account of the perfidy of Hunt, master of an English vessel, who had some years before the pestilence decoyed some of the natives (twenty from Patukset and seven from Naufet) on board his ship, and sold them abroad as slaves ; that they had killed three English fishermen, besides the Frenchmen aforementioned, in revenge for this affront. He also gave information of the lost tools, and promised to see them restored ; and that he would bring the natives to trade with them.”

Samoset being dismissed with a present, returned the next day with five more of the natives, bringing the stolen tools, and a few skins for trade. They were dismissed with a request to bring more, which they promised in a few days. Samoset feigned himself sick, and remained ; but as his companions did not return at the time, he was sent to inquire the reason.

On

On the 22d he returned, in company with Squanto or Squantum, a native of Patukset, and the only one then living. He was one of the twenty whom Hunt had carried away ; he had been sold in Spain, had lived in London, with John Slany Merchant, Treasurer of the Newfoundland Company ; had learned the English language, and came back to his native country with the fishermen. These two persons were deputed by the Sachem of the Wompaneags, *Ma-saff-o-it*,* whose residence was at Sowams or Pokanoket, on the Narraganset Bay, to announce his coming, and bring some skins as a present. In about an hour, the Sachem, with his brother *Qua-de-qui-nab*, and his whole force of sixty men, appeared on the hill over against them. Squantum was sent to know his pleasure, and returned with the Sachem's request, that one of the Company should come to him. Edward Winslow immediately went alone, carrying a present in his hand, with the Governor's compliments, desiring to see
the

* Mr. Prince says that *Ma-saff-o-it* is a word of four syllables, and was so pronounced by the ancient people of Plymouth, (p. 101.) This remark is confirmed by the manner in which it is spelled in some parts of Mr. Winslow's Narrative, *Ma-saf-o-wat*.

the Sachem, and enter on a friendly treaty. Mafassoit left Winslow in the custody of his brother, to whom another present was made, and taking twenty of his men, unarmed, descended the hill toward the brook, over which lay a log bridge. Captain Miles Standish, at the head of six men, met him at the brook, and escorted him and his train to one of the best houses, where three or four cushions were placed on a green rug, spread over the floor. The Governor came in, preceded by a drum and trumpet, the sound of which greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations, he entered into conversation with the Sachem, which issued in a treaty. The articles were, “(1.) That neither he nor his should injure any of our’s. (2.) That if they did, he should send the offender, that *we* might punish him. (3.) That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. (4.) That if any *unjustly* warred against him, we would aid him ; and if any warred against us, he should aid us. (5.) That he should certify his neighbour confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. (6.) That when their men came

to

to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them ; as we should leave our pieces when we came to them. (7.) That in doing thus, King JAMES would esteem him as his friend and ally."

The conference being ended, and the company having been entertained with such refreshments as the place afforded, the Sachem returned to his camp. This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Mafassoit lived, but was afterward broken by Philip, his successor.

The next day Mafassoit sent for some of the English to visit him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went, were kindly received, and treated with ground-nuts and tobacco.

The Sachem then returned to his headquarters, distant about forty miles ; but Squantum and Samoset remained at Plymouth, and instructed the people how to plant their corn, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. The ground which they planted with corn was twenty acres. They sowed six acres with barley and peas ; the former

former yielded an indifferent crop; but the latter were parched with the heat, and came to nothing.

Whilst they were engaged in this labour, in which all were alike employed, on the 5th of April, (the day on which the ship sailed for England) Governor Carver came out of the field, at noon, complaining of a pain in his head, caused by the heat of the sun. It soon deprived him of his senses, and in a few days put an end to his life, to the great grief of this infant plantation. He was buried with all the honours which could be shown to the memory of a good man by a grateful people. The men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave. His affectionate wife, overcome with her loss, survived him but six weeks.

Mr. Carver is represented as a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the Colony, who confided in him as their friend and father.

Piety,

Piety, humility, and benevolence, were eminent traits in his character ; and it is particularly remarked, that in the time of general sickness, which befel the Colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.

One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years ; and about the middle of the present century (1755) he, his son, grandson, and great grandson, were all, at the same time, at work, in the same field ; whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house, at Marshfield.

The memory of Governor Carver is still held in esteem ; a ship belonging to Plymouth now bears his name ; and his broadsword is deposited, as a curiosity, in the cabinet of the Historical Society, at Boston.

XXIII. WILLIAM BRADFORD.

WILLIAM BRADFORD was born in 1588, at Ansterfield, an obscure village, in the North of England.* His parents dying when he was young, he was educated, first by his grand parents, and afterward by his uncles, in the practice of agriculture. His paternal inheritance was considerable; but he had no other learning than such as generally falls to the share of the children of husbandmen.

At twelve years of age, his mind became seriously impressed by divine truth, in reading the Scriptures; and as he increased in years, a native firmness enabled him to vindicate his opinions against opposition. Being stigmatized as a Separatist, he was obliged to bear the frowns of his relatives, and the scoff of his neighbours; but nothing could divert or intimidate him from attending on the ministry of Mr. Richard Clifton, and connecting himself with the church over which he and Mr. Robinson presided.

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When

* *Magnalia, II. 3.*

When he was eighteen years old, he joined in their attempt to go over to Holland, and was one of the seven who were imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire, as is already related in the life of Robinson ; but he was soon liberated on account of his youth. He was also one of those who the next year fled from Grimsby Common, when part of the Company went to sea, and part were taken by the pursuivants.

After some time, he went over to Zealand, through various difficulties ; and was no sooner set on shore, than a malicious passenger in the same vessel accused him before the Dutch magistrates, as a fugitive from England. But when they understood the cause of his emigration, they gave him protection, and permission to join his brethren at Amsterdam.

If being impossible for him to prosecute agriculture in Holland, he was obliged to betake himself to some other business ; and, being then under age, he put himself as an apprentice to a French Protestant, who taught him the art of silk-dying. As soon as he attained the years of manhood, he sold his paternal estate in England, and entered on a commercial

commercial life, in which he was not very successful.

When the Church of Leyden contemplated a removal to America, Bradford zealously engaged in the undertaking, and came with the first Company, in 1620, to Cape Cod. Whilst the ship lay in that harbour, he was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts to find a proper place for the seat of the Colony, in one of which, he, with others of the principal persons, narrowly escaped the destruction which threatened their shallop.* On his return from this excursion to the ship with the joyful news of having found an harbour, and a place for settlement, he had the mortification to hear that during his absence, his wife had accidentally fallen into the sea, and was drowned.

After the sudden death of Governor Carver, the infant Colony cast their eyes on Bradford to succeed him; but, being at that time so very ill that his life was despaired of, they waited for his recovery, and then invested him with the command. He was in the thirty-third year of his age; his wifdom,

* Prince, 76.

dom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart, were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people. Carver had been alone in command. They confided in his prudence, that he would not adventure on any matter of moment without the consent of the people, or the advice of the wisest. To Bradford they appointed an assistant, Isaac Allerton, not because they had not the same confidence in him, but partly for the sake of regularity, and partly on account of his precarious health.* They appointed but one, because they were so reduced in number, that to have made a greater disproportion between rulers and people would have been absurd; and they knew that it would always be in their power to increase the number at their pleasure. Their voluntary combination was designed only as a temporary expedient, till they should obtain a charter under the authority of their sovereign.

One of the first acts of Bradford's administration, was, by advice of the Company, to send Edward Winflow and Stephen Hopkins to Mafassoit, with Squanto for their guide. The design of this embassy was to explore the

* Hubbard's MS. Hist. p. 49.

the country, to confirm the league, to learn the situation and strength of their new friend, to carry some presents, to apologize for some misbehaviour, to regulate the intercourse between them and the Indians, and to procure seed-corn for the next planting season.

These gentlemen found the Sachem at Pokanoket,* about forty miles from Plymouth. They delivered the presents, renewed the friendship, and satisfied themselves respecting the strength of the natives, which did not appear formidable, nor was the entertainment which they received either liberal or splendid. The marks of desolation and death, by reason of the pestilence, were very conspicuous, in all the country through which they passed; but they were informed that the Narragansets, who resided on the western shore of the bay of that name, were
very

* This was a general name for the northern shore of the Narraganset Bay, between Providence and Taunton rivers, and comprehending the present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, in the State of Rhode-Island, and Swansey in Massachusetts. Its northern extent is unknown. The principal seats of the Sachem were at *Sowams* and *Kikemuit*. The former is a neck of land formed by the confluence of Barrington and Palmer's Rivers; the latter is Mount Hope.

very numerous, and that the pestilence had not reached them.

After the return of this embassy, another was sent to Nauset, to recover a boy who had straggled from Plymouth, and had been taken up by some of the Indians of that place. They were so fortunate as to recover the boy, and to make peace with Aspinet, the Sachem, whom they paid for the seed-corn which they had taken out of the ground at Paomet, in the preceding autumn.* During this expedition, an old woman, who had never before seen any white people, burst into tears of grief and rage at the sight of them. She had lost three sons by the perfidy of Thomas Hunt, who decoyed them, with others, on board his ship, and sold them for slaves. Squanto, who was present, told her that he had been carried away at the same time; that Hunt was a bad man; that his countrymen disapproved his conduct, and that the English at Plymouth would not offer them any injury. This declaration, accompanied by a small present, appeased her anger, though it was impossible to remove the cause of her grief.

It

* Mourt's Relation in Purchas, iv. 1853.

It was fortunate for the Colony that they had secured the friendship of Masaffoit; for his influence was found to be very extensive. He was regarded and reverenced by all the natives, from the Bay of Narraganset to that of Massachusetts. Though some of the petty Sachems were disposed to be jealous of the new Colony, and to disturb its peace, yet their mutual connexion with Masaffoit proved the means of its preservation; as a proof of which, nine of these Sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and subscribed an instrument of submission in the following terms, viz.

“ September 13, Anno Domini 1621.
Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names, or marks, as followeth :

Ohquamehud, Nattawahunt, Quadequina,
Cawnacome, Caunbatant, Huttamoiden,
Obbatinua, Chikatabak, Apannow.”
Hobamak,

Hobamak, another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the island of Capawock, which had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace:

Having heard much of the Bay of Massachusetts, both from the Indians and the English fishermen, Governor Bradford appointed ten men, with Squanto and two other Indians, to visit the place, and trade with the natives. On the 18th of September, they sailed in a shallop; and the next day got to the bottom of the bay, where they landed under a cliff,* and were kindly received by Obbatinewa, the Sachem who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth a few days before. He reviewed his submission, and received a promise of assistance and defence against the Squaw Sachem of Massachusetts, and other enemies.

The appearance of this bay was pleasing. They saw the mouths of two rivers which emptied into it. The islands were cleared
of

* Supposed to be Copp's Hill, in the town of Boston.

of wood, and had been planted ; but most of the people who had inhabited them either were dead, or had removed. Those who remained were continually in fear of the Tar ratenes, who frequently came from the eastward in a hostile manner, and robbed them of their corn. In one of these predatory invasions, Nanepashamet, a Sachem, had been slain ; his body lay buried under a frame, surrounded by an intrenchment and palisade. A monument on the top of a hill designated the place where he was killed.

Having explored the bay, and collected some beaver, the shallop returned to Plymouth, and brought so good a report of the place, that the people wished they had been seated there. But having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth, and being there in security from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal. Many of their posterity have judged otherwise.

In November, a ship arrived from England, with thirty-five passengers, to augment the Colony. Unhappily they were so short of provision, that the people of Plymouth were obliged to victual the ship home, and

then put themselves and the new comers to half allowance. Before the next spring (1622) the Colony began to feel the rigour of famine. In the height of this distress, the Governor received from Canonicus, Sachem of Narraganset, a threatening message, in the emblematic style of the ancient Scythians; a bundle of arrows, bound with the skin of a serpent. The Governor sent an answer in the same style, the skin of the serpent filled with powder and ball. The Narragansets, afraid of its contents, sent it back unopened; and here the correspondence ended.

It was now judged proper to fortify the town. Accordingly it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankarts; a guard was kept by day and night, the Company being divided into four squadrons. A select number were appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard with their backs to the fire, to prevent a surprise from the Indians. Within the stockade was enclosed the top of the hill, under which the town was built, and a sufficiency of land for a garden to each family. The works were begun in February, and finished in March.

At

At this time the famine was very severe. Fish and spring water were the only provision on which the people subsisted. The want of bread reduced their flesh; yet, they had so much health and spirit, that, on hearing of the massacre in Virginia, they erected an additional fort on the top of the hill, with a flat roof, on which the guns were mounted; the lower story served them for a place of worship. Sixty acres of ground were planted with corn; and their gardens were sown with the seeds of other esculent vegetables, in great plenty.

The arrival of two ships with a new Colony, sent out by Thomas Weston, but without provisions, was an additional misfortune. Some of these people being sick, were lodged in the hospital at Plymouth till they were so far recovered as to join their companions, who seated themselves at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth.

The first supply of provision was obtained from the fishing vessels; of which thirty-five came this spring, from England to the coast. In August, two ships arrived with trading goods; which the planters bought at a great disadvantage, giving beaver in exchange.

The

The summer being dry, and the harvest short, it became necessary to make excursions among the natives, to procure corn and beans, with the goods purchased from the ships. Governor Bradford undertook this service, having Squanto for his guide and interpreter; who was taken ill on the passage, and died at Manamoik. Before his death, he requested the Governor to pray for him, "that he might go to the Englishman's God."

In these excursions, Mr. Bradford was treated by the natives with great respect; and the trade was conducted, on both parts, with justice and confidence. At Nauset, the shallop being stranded, it was necessary to put the corn, which had been purchased, in stack, and to leave it, covered with mats and sedge, in the care of the Indians, whilst the Governor and his party came home, fifty miles, on foot. It remained there, from November to January; and, when another shallop was sent, it was found in perfect safety, and the stranded shallop was recovered.*

At Namasket, [Middleborough] an inland place, he bought another quantity, which was

* Winflow, in Purchas, iv. 1858.

was brought home, partly by the people of the Colony, and partly by the Indian women; their men disdaining to bear burdens.

At Manomet [Sandwich] he bargained for more, which he was obliged to leave till March, when Captain Standish went and fetched it home, the Indian women bringing it down to the shallop. The whole quantity thus purchased, amounted to twenty-eight hogsheads, of corn and beans; of which Weston's people had a share, as they had joined in the purchase.

In the spring (1623) the Governor received a message from Mafassoit, that he was sick; on which occasion, it is usual for all the friends of the Indians to visit them, or send them presents. Mr. Winflow again went to visit the Sachem, accompanied by Mr. John Hamden,* and they had Hobamak

for

* In Winflow's Journal, Mr. Hamden is said to be "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country." I suppose this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles I. He had previously (1637) embarked for New-England with Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and others; but they were prevented from coming by the King's "proclamation against disorderly transporting his Majes-

"ty's

for their guide and interpreter. The visit was very consolatory to their sick friend, and the more so, as Winslow carried him some cordials, and made him broth after the English mode, which contributed to his recovery. In return for this friendly attention, Mafassofit communicated to Hobamak intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy, then in agitation among the Indians, in which he had been solicited to join. Its object was nothing less than the total extirpation of the English, and it was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Weston's people in the Bay of Massachusetts. The Indians had it in contemplation to make them the first victims, and then to fall on the people of Plymouth. Mafassofit's advice was that the English should seize and put to death the chief conspirators, whom he named ; and said that this would prevent the execution of the plot. Hobamak communicated this secret to Winslow, as they were returning ; and it was reported to the Governor.

On

"ty's subjects to the plantations in America." Hamden was born in 1594, and was 29 years old at the time of his being at Plymouth, in 1623.

See Neal's Hist. N. E. Vol. I. 151. Hazard's State Papers, Vol. I. 421. Northouck's Biographical Dictionary, H. A. M.

On this alarming occasion the whole Company were assembled in Court, and the news was imparted to them. Such was their confidence in the Governor, that they unanimously requested him, with Allerton his Assistant, to concert the best measures for their safety. The result was to strengthen the fortifications, to be vigilant at home, and to send such a force to the Bay of Massachusetts, under Captain Standish, as he should judge sufficient to crush the conspiracy. An Indian who had come into the town was suspected as a spy, and confined in irons. Standish with eight chosen men, and the faithful Hobamak, went in the shallop to Weston's plantation, having goods as usual to trade with the Indians. Here he met the persons who had been named as conspirators, who personally insulted and threatened him. A quarrel ensued, in which seven of the Indians were killed. The others were so struck with terror, that they forsook their houses and retreated to the swamps, where many of them died with cold and hunger; the survivors would have sued for peace, but were afraid to go to Plymouth. Weston's people were so apprehensive of the consequences of this affair,

affair, that they quitted the plantation ; and the people of Plymouth, who offered them protection, which they would not accept, were glad to be rid of such troublesome neighbours.

Thus, by the spirited conduct of a handful of brave men, in conformity to the advice of the friendly Sachem, the whole conspiracy was annihilated. But when the report of this transaction was carried to their brethren in Holland, Mr. Robinson, in his next letter to the Governor, lamented with great concern and tenderness, “ O that you had converted some, before you had killed any !”*

The scarcity which they had hitherto experienced was partly owing to the increase of their numbers, and the scantiness of their supplies from Europe ; but principally to their mode of labouring in common, and putting the fruit of their labour into the public store ; an error, which had the same effect here, as in Virginia. To remedy this evil, as far as was consistent with their engagements, it was agreed in the spring of 1623 that every family should plant for themselves,

* Priace, 146.

felves, on such ground as should be assigned to them by lot, without any division for inheritance ;* and that in the time of harvest a competent portion should be brought into the common store, for the maintenance of the public officers, fishermen and such other persons as could not be employed in agriculture. This regulation gave a spring to industry ; the women and children cheerfully went to work with the men, in the fields, and much more corn was planted than ever before. Having but one boat, the men were divided into parties of six or seven, who took their turns to catch fish ; the shore afforded them shell-fish, and ground nuts served them for bread. When any deer was killed the flesh was divided among the whole Colony. Water fowl came in plenty at the proper season, but the want of boats prevented them from being taken in great numbers. Thus they subsisted, through the third summer, in the latter end of which two vessels arrived with sixty passengers. The harvest was plentiful ; and after this time they had no general want of food, because they had learned to depend

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* Prince, 133. Purchas, iv. 1866.

on their own exertions, rather than on foreign supplies.

The combination which they made, before their landing at Cape Cod, was the first foundation of their Government; but, as they were driven to this expedient by necessity, it was intended to subsist no longer than till they could obtain legal authority from their Sovereign.* As soon as they knew of the establishment of the Council of New-England, they applied for a patent; which was taken in the name of John Peirce, in trust for the Colony. When he saw that they were well seated, and that there was a prospect of success to their undertaking, he went, without their knowledge, but in their name, and solicited the Council for another patent, of greater extent; intending to keep it to himself, and allow them no more than he pleased, holding them as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his Courts. In pursuance of this design, having obtained the patent, he bought a ship, which he named the Paragon; loaded her with goods, took on board upwards of sixty passengers, and sailed from London, for the Colony of New Plymouth.

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* Morton, 45. Prince, 136. -- Mag. I. 12.

In the Downs, he was overtaken by a tempest, which so damaged the ship, that he was obliged to put her into dock; where she lay seven weeks, and her repairs cost him one hundred pounds. In December, 1622, he sailed a second time, having on board one hundred and nine persons; but a series of tempestuous weather which continued fourteen days, disabled his ship, and forced him back to Portsmouth. These repeated disappointments proved so discouraging to him, that he was easily prevailed upon by the Company of Adventurers, to assign his patent to them for five hundred pounds. The passengers came over in other ships.

In 1629, another patent of larger extent was solicited by Isaac Allerton, and taken out in the name of "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns."* This patent confirmed their title (as far as the Crown of England could confirm it) to a tract of land bounded on the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and by lines drawn west from the Rivulet of Conohasset, and north from the River of Narraganset, which lines meet in a point, comprehending all the country called

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* Hazard, I. 298.

ed Pokanoket. To this tract they supposed they had a prior title from the depopulation of a great part of it by a pestilence, from the gift of Masassoit, his voluntary subjection to the Crown of England, and his having taken protection of them. In a declaration published by them in 1636, they asserted their "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives,"* which, together with their patent from the Crown, through the Council of New-England, formed "the warrantable ground and foundation of their government, of making laws and disposing of lands."†

In

* Hazard, I. 404.

† In 1639, after the termination of the Pequod war, Masassoit, who had then changed his name to Woosamequen, brought his son Mooanam to Plymouth, and desired that the league which he had formerly made, might be renewed and made inviolable. The Sachem and his son voluntarily promised, "for themselves and their successors, that they would not needlessly nor unjustly raise any quarrels or do any wrong to other natives to provoke them to war against the Colony; and that they would not give, sell or convey any of their lands, territories or possessions whatever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity or consent of the Government of Plymouth, other than to such as the said Government should send or appoint. The whole Court did then ratify

and

In the same patent was granted a large tract bordering on the river Kennebeck, where they had carried on a traffic with the natives for furs, as they did also at Connecticut River, which was not equally beneficial, because there they had the Dutch for rivals.* The fur trade was found to be much more advantageous than the fishery. Sometimes they exchanged corn of their own growth, for furs ; but European coarse cloths, hardware, and ornaments, were good articles of trade when they could command them.

The Company in England, with which they were connected, did not supply them in plenty. Losses were sustained by sea ; the returns were not adequate to their expectations ; they became discouraged ; threw many reflections on the planters, and finally refused them any farther supplies ;† but still demanded

and confirm the aforesaid league, and promise to the said Woosamequen, his son and successors, that they would defend them against all such as should unjustly rise up against them, to wrong or oppress them.”

Morton’s Memorial, 150.

* Hutch. II. 469. Prince, 157.

† Bradford’s Letters in the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. III. p. 29, 36, 60.

demanded the debt due from them, and would not permit them to connect themselves in trade with any other persons. The planters complained to the Council of New-England, but obtained no redress. After the expiration of the seven years (1628) for which the contract was made, eight of the principal persons in the Colony, with four of their friends in London, became bound for the balance; and from that time took the whole trade into their own hands. These were obliged to take up money at an exorbitant interest, and to go deeply into trade at Kennebeck, Penobscot, and Connecticut; by which means, and their own great industry and economy, they were enabled to discharge the debt, and pay for the transportation of thirty-five families of their friends from Leyden, who arrived in 1629.

The patent had been taken in the name of Mr. Bradford, in trust for the Colony; and the event proved that their confidence was not misplaced. When the number of people was increased, and new townships were erected, the General Court, in 1640, requested that he would surrender the patent into their

their hands.* To this he readily consented ; and, by a written instrument, under his hand and seal, surrendered it to them ; reserving for himself no more than his proportion, by previous agreement. This was done in open Court, and the patent was immediately re-delivered into his custody.

Whilst they were few in number, the whole body of associates, or freemen, assembled for legislative, executive and judicial business.† In 1634, the Governor and Assistants were constituted a Judicial Court, and afterward, the Supreme Judiciary.‡ Petty offences, and actions of debt, trespass and damage, not exceeding forty shillings, were tried by the Selectmen of each town, with liberty of appeal to the next Court of Assistants. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, when two Deputies were sent from each town, and four from Plymouth. In 1649 Plymouth was restricted to the same number with the other towns. These Deputies were chosen by the freemen ; and none were admitted to the privilege of freemen, but such as were twenty-one years of

* Hazard, I. 298, 468.

† Hutch. II. 457. ‡ Plymouth Laws.

of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds rateable estate.

By the former patent, the Colony of Plymouth was empowered "to enact such laws, as should most befit a State, in its non-age, not rejecting, or omitting to observe such of the laws of their native country, as would conduce to their good."* In the second patent, the power of government was granted to William Bradford and his associates, in the following terms.† "To frame and make orders, ordinances and constitutions, as well for the better government of their affairs here, [in England] and the receiving or admitting any to his or their society; as also, for the better government of his or their people, at sea, in going thither, or returning from thence; and the same to be put in execution, by such officers and ministers as he or they shall authorise and depute; provided, that the said laws be not repugnant to the laws of England, or the frame

* Preface to Plymouth Laws, by Secretary Morton.

† Hazard, I. 302.

frame of government by the said President and Council hereafter to be established."

At that time, a general government over the whole territory of New-England, was a favourite object with the Council, which granted these patents; but, after several attempts, it finally miscarried, to the no small joy of the planters, who were then at liberty to govern themselves.

In the formation of the laws of New-Plymouth, regard was had, "primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law." For, though some parts of that system were peculiar to the circumstances of the sons of Jacob, yet "the whole being grounded on principles of moral equity," it was the opinion of our first planters, not at Plymouth only, but in Massachusetts, New-Haven and Connecticut, that "all men, especially Christians, ought to have an eye to it, in the framing of their political constitutions."* A secondary regard was had to the liberties, granted to them by their Sovereign, and the laws of England, which they supposed "any impartial person might discern, in the pe-

G G rufal

* Preface to Plymouth Laws.

refusal of the book of the laws of the Colony."

At first they had some doubt concerning their right of punishing capital crimes. A murder, which happened in 1630, made it necessary to decide this question. It was decided by the divine law against shedding human blood, which was deemed indispensable. In 1636 their Code of Laws was revised, and capital crimes were enumerated and defined. In 1671 it was again revised, and the next year printed, with this title : "The book of the general laws of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth ;" * a title very similar to the Codes of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which were printed at the same time by Samuel Green, at Cambridge.

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* Governor Hutchinson, with unaccountable carelessness, has asserted, (vol. II. 463) that they "never established any distinct code or body of laws ;" grounding his assertion on a passage in Hubbard's MS. History, which implies no such thing. The quotation, imperfectly given by Hutchinson, is correctly as follows, (p. 50.)

"The laws they intended to be governed by, were the laws of England ; the which they were willing to be subject to, though in a foreign land ; and have, since that time, continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, in such cases,

The piety, wisdom, and integrity of Mr. Bradford, were such prominent features in his character, that he was annually chosen Governor as long as he lived, excepting three years, when Mr. Winslow, and two, when Mr. Prince, were chosen ; and, even then, Mr. Bradford was the first in the list of Assistants, which gave him the rank of Deputy-Governor. In 1624 they chose five Assistants, and, in 1633, seven ; the Governor having a double vote. These augmentations were made at the earnest request of Mr. Bradford, who strongly recommended a rotation in the election of a Governor ; but, could not obtain it for more than five years in thirty-five ; and never for more than two years in succession. His argument was, "that if it were any honour or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it ; if it were a burden, others beside himself should help

to

fes, where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach, or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place ; possibly on the same ground that Pacavius sometimes advised his neighbours of Capua, not to cashier their old magistrates, till they could agree on better to place in their room. So did these choose to abide by the laws of England, till they could be provided of better."

to bear it."* Notwithstanding the reasonableness and equity of his plea, the people had such a strong attachment to him, and confidence in him, that they could not be persuaded to leave him out of the Government.

For the last twelve years of his life, he was annually chosen without interruption, and serv'd in the office of Governor. His health continued good till the autumn of 1656, when it began to decline; and, as the next spring advanced, he became weaker, but felt not any acute illness till the beginning of May.

After a distressing day, his mind was, in the following night, so elevated with the idea of futurity, that he said to his friends in the morning, "God has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory." The next day, being the ninth of May, 1657, he was removed from this world by death, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to the immense loss and grief of the people, not only in Plymouth, but the neighbouring Colonies; four†
of

* Morton, p. 53:

† These four Colonies were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven, and Rhode-Island.

of which he lived to see established, beside that of which he was one of the principal founders.

In addition to what has been said of Mr. Bradford's character, it may be observed, that he was a sensible man, of a strong mind, a sound judgment, and a good memory. Though not favoured with a learned education, he was much inclined to study and writing. The French and Dutch languages were familiar to him, and he attained a considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek; but he more assiduously studied the Hebrew, because he said that "he would see with his own eyes, the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty."*

He had read much of history and philosophy, but theology was his favourite study. He was able to manage the polemic part of it, with much dexterity; and was particularly vigilant against the sectaries which infested the Colonies; though by no means severe or intolerant, as long as they continued peaceable; wishing rather to foil them by argument, and guard the people against receiving

* Mather's *Magnalia*, II. 5.

ceiving their tenets, than to suppress them by violence or cut them off by the sword of magistracy. Mr. Hubbard's character of him is, that he was "a person of great gravity and prudence, of sober principles, and for one of that persuasion (Brownists) very pliable, gentle and condescending."

He wrote "a History of Plymouth people and Colony,"* beginning with the first formation of the Church in 1602; and ending in 1646. It was contained in a folio volume of 270 pages. Morton's Memorial is an abridgment of it. Prince and Hutchinson had the use of it, and the manuscript was carefully deposited with Mr. Prince's valuable Collection of Papers, in the library of the Old South Church in Boston, which fell a sacrifice to the unprincipled fury of the British army, in the year 1775, since which time it has not been seen. He also had a large book of copies of letters relative to the affairs of the Colony, a fragment of which was, a few years ago, recovered by accident,† and

published,

* Preface to Prince's Annals, p. vi, ix.

† It was accidentally seen in a Grocer's shop at Halifax, Nova-Scotia, by James Clarke, Esq. a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society, and by him transmitted to Boston.

published, by the Historical Society.* To this fragment is subjoined another, being a "descriptive and historical account of New England," in verse; which if it be not graced with the charms of poetry, yet is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections. Besides these, he wrote, as Dr. Mather says, "some significant things, for the confutation of the errors of the times; by which it appears, that he was a person of a good temper, and free from that rigid spirit of separation, which broke the Separatists to pieces."

In his office of chief magistrate, he was prudent, temperate and firm. He would suffer no person to trample on the laws, or disturb the peace of the Colony. During his administration there were frequent accessions of new inhabitants; some of whom were at first refractory; but his wisdom and fortitude obliged them to pay a decent respect to the laws and customs of the country. One particular instance is preserved. A company of young men, newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the Governor's order for working on the public account.

* Collections of H. S. vol. III. p. 27. 77.

account. On a Christmas day, they excused themselves, under pretence that it was against their conscience to work. The Governor gave them no other answer than, that he would let them alone, till they should be better informed. In the course of the day, he found them at play in the street; and commanding the instruments of their game to be taken from them, he told them, that it was against his conscience to suffer them to play, whilst others were at work; and that if they had any religious regard to the day, they should show it, in the exercise of devotion at home. This gentle reproof had the desired effect, and prevented a repetition of such disorders.

His conduct toward intruders and false friends was equally moderate, but firm and decisive. John Lyford had imposed himself upon the Colony as a Minister, being recommended by some of the adventurers. At first his behaviour was plausible, and he was treated with respect; but it was not long, before he began, in concert with John Oldham, to excite a faction. The Governor watched them; and when a ship was about sailing for England, it was observed that

that Lyford was very busy in writing letters, of which he put a great number on board. The Governor in a boat, followed the ship to sea, and by favour of the Master, who was a friend to the Colony, examined the letters, some of which he intercepted, and concealed. Lyford and Oldham were at first under much apprehension, but as nothing transpired, they concluded that the Governor had only gone on board to carry his own letters ; and felt themselves secure.

In one of the intercepted letters, Lyford had written to his friends, the discontented part of the adventurers, that he and Oldham intended a reformation in Church and State. Accordingly they began to institute a separate Church ; and when Oldham was summoned to take his turn at a military watch, he not only refused compliance, but abused Captain Standish, and drew his knife upon him. For this he was imprisoned ; and both he and Lyford were brought to trial, before the whole Company. Their behaviour was insolent and obstinate. The Governor took pains to convince them of their folly, but in vain. The letters were then

H H produced ;

produced ; their adherents were confounded ; and the evidence of their factious and disorderly conduct being satisfactory, they were condemned, and ordered to be banished from the plantation. Lyford was allowed six months for probation ; but his pretences proved hypocritical, and he was obliged to depart. After several removals he died in Virginia. Oldham having returned after banishment, his second expulsion was conducted in this singular manner. “A guard of musqueteers was appointed, through which he was obliged to pass ; every one was ordered to give him a blow on the hinder parts, with the butt end of his musquet ; then he was conveyed to the water side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, *Go, and mend your manners.*”* This discipline had a good effect on him ; he made his submission, and was allowed to come and go on trading voyages. In one of these, he was killed by the Pequod Indians, which proved the occasion of a war with that nation.

Mr. Bradford had one son by his first wife ; and by his second, Alice Southworth, whom

he

* Morton, 81.

he married in 1623, he had two sons and a daughter. His son William, born in 1624, was Deputy-Governor of the Colony after his father's death, and lived to the age of 80; as appears by his grave-stone in Plymouth church-yard. One of his grandsons and two of his great grandsons were Counsellors of Massachusets. Several others of his descendants have borne respectable characters, and have been placed in stations of honour and usefulness. One of them, William Bradford, has been Deputy-Governor of the State of Rhode-Island, and a senator in the Congress of the United States. Two others, Alden Bradford and Gamaliel Bradford are members of the Historical Society.

XXIV. WILLIAM BREWSTER.

THE place of this gentleman's birth is unknown. The time of it was A. D. 1560. He received his education at the University of Cambridge, where he became seriously impressed with the truth of religion, which had its genuine influence on his character, through his whole life.

After leaving the University, he entered into the service of William Davison, a courtier of Queen Elizabeth, and her Ambassador in Scotland and in Holland ; who found him so capable and faithful, that he reposed the utmost confidence in him. He esteemed him as a son, and conversed with him in private, both on religious and political subjects, with the greatest familiarity ; and when any thing occurred which required secrecy, Brewster was his confidential friend.

When the Queen entered into a league with the United Provinces, (1584) and received possession of several towns and forts, as security for her expenses in defending their liberties ; Davison, who negotiated the matter, entrusted Brewster with the keys of

Flushing,

Flushing, one of those cautionary towns ; and the States of Holland were so sensible of his merit, as to present him with the ornament of a golden chain.*

He returned with the Ambassador to England, and continued in his service, till Davison, having incurred the hypocritical displeasure of his arbitrary mistress, was imprisoned, fined, and ruined. Davison is said to have been a man of abilities and integrity, but easy to be imposed upon, and for that very reason was made Secretary of State.† When Mary, the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, had been tried and condemned, and the Parliament of England had petitioned their sovereign for her execution, Elizabeth privately ordered Davison to draw a death-warrant, which she signed, and sent him with it to the Chancellor to have the great seal annexed. Having performed his duty, she pretended to blame him for his precipitancy. Davison acquainted the Council with the whole transaction ; they knew the Queen's real sentiments, and persuaded him to send the warrant to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, promising to justify his conduct.

* Morton's Memorial, p. 154.

† Hume, vol. V. chap. 42.

conduct, and take the blame on themselves. These Earls attended the execution of Mary ; but, when Elizabeth heard of it, she affected surprize and indignation ; threw all the blame on the innocent Secretary, and committed him to the tower ; where he became the subject of raillery from those very Counsellors who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was tried in the Star Chamber, and fined ten thousand pounds, which being rigorously levied upon him, reduced him to poverty.*

During these misfortunes, Brewster faithfully adhered to him, and gave him all the assistance of which he was capable. When he could no longer serve him, he retired into the north of England, among his old friends, and was very highly esteemed by those who were most exemplary for religion.† Being possessed of a handsome property, and having some influence, he made use of both in promoting the cause of religion, and procuring

* For a particular account of Davison, and a full vindication of his conduct, the reader is referred to the 5th volume of *Biographia Britannica*, published by the late learned and candid Dr. Kippis ; where the character of Elizabeth is drawn in its proper colours. P. 4—13.

† Cotton's Appendix, in the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. IV. 114.

curing persons of good character, to serve in the office of ministers to the parishes in his neighbourhood.

By degrees he became disgusted with the impositions of the prelatical party, and their severity toward men of a moderate and peaceable disposition. This led him to inquire critically into the nature of ecclesiastical authority ; and having discovered much corruption in the constitution, forms, ceremonies, and discipline of the established Church, he thought it his duty to withdraw from its communion, and join with others of the same sentiments in the institution of a separate Church ; of which the aged Mr. Clifton and the younger Mr. Robinson were appointed pastors. The newly formed Society met, on the Lord's days, at Mr. Brewster's house ; where they were entertained at his expense, with much affection and respect, as long as they could assemble without opposition from their adversaries.

But when the resentment of the hierarchy, heightened by the countenance and authority of James, the successor of Elizabeth, obliged them to seek refuge in a foreign country ; Brewster was the most forward to assist them in their removal. He was one of those
who

who went on board a vessel, in the night, at Boston in Lincolnshire, (as already related in the life of Robinson;) and being apprehended by the magistrates, he was the greatest sufferer, because he had the most property. When liberated from confinement, he first assisted the weak and poor of the Society in their embarkation, and then followed them to Holland.

His family was large, and his dependents numerous; his education and mode of living were not suited to a mechanical or mercantile life, and he could not practise agriculture in a commercial city. The hardships which he suffered in consequence of this removal were grievous and depressing; but when his finances were exhausted, he had a resource in his learning and abilities. In Leyden he found employment as a tutor; the youth of the city and university came to him for instruction in the English tongue; and by means of the Latin, which was common to both, and a grammar of his own construction, they soon acquired a knowledge of the English language. By the help of some friends, he also set up a printing-office, and was instrumental of publishing several books against

against the hierarchy, which could not obtain a license in England.

His reputation was so high in the Church of which he was a member, that they chose him a ruling elder, and confided in his wisdom, experience and integrity, to assist in conducting their temporal as well as ecclesiastical concerns, particularly their removal to America. With the minority of the Church he came over, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in this wilderness. He partook with them of labour, hunger and watching ; his bible and his arms were equally familiar to him ; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was called.

For some time after their arrival, they were destitute of a teaching elder ; expecting and hoping that Mr. Robinson, with the remainder of the church, would follow them to America. Brewster frequently officiated as a preacher, but he never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments, or take on him the pastoral office ; though it had been stipulated before their departure from Holland, that "those who first went should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those

who staid ;”* and it was one of their principles, that the brethren who elected, had the power of ordaining to office.

The reason of his refusal was his extreme diffidence ; being unwilling to assume any other office in the Church, than that with which he had been invested by the whole body. This plea might have some force during Robinson’s life, by whose advice he had been prevailed upon to accept the office of a ruling elder ; but after his death there was less reason for it, and his declining to officiate was really productive of very disagreeable effects.

A spirit of faction and division was excited in the church, partly by persons of different sentiments and characters, who came over from England, and partly by uneasy and assuming brethren among themselves. Such was the notoriety and melancholy appearance of these divisions, that their friends in England seriously admonished them, and recommended to them “to let their practice in the Church be complete and full ; to permit all who feared God, to join themselves to them without delay ; and to let all divine ordinances

* Prince, 66.

ordinances be used completely in the Church, without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping a gap open for opposites.”*

With this salutary advice they did not comply; and one great obstacle to their compliance was the liberty of “prophesying,” which was allowed not only to the elders, but to such private members as were “gifted.” In Robinson’s *Apology*,† this principle

* Bradford’s Letters in Collections H. Society, III. 33.

† “We learn from the Apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xiv. 3.) that he who prophesieth, speaketh to men, to edification, and exhortation, and comfort; which, to perform conveniently, comes within the compass of but a few of the multitude, haply two or three in each of our churches. Touching prophecy, then, we think the same that the Synod of Embden (1571) hath decreed in these words. ‘Let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul’s institution. Into the fellowship of this work, are to be admitted, not only the ministers, but the teachers, elders and deacons, yea even of the multitude, who are willing to confer their gift, received of God, to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed, by the judgment of the ministers and others.’”

Robinson’s Apology, Chap. viii.

Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Wilson, minister of Boston, made a visit to Plymouth in October, 1632, and kept Sabbath there. The following account of the afternoon exercise is preserved in Winthrop’s Journal, p. 44.

“In the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which the pastor,

Mr.

ple is explained in a very cautious manner; the exercise of the gift was subject to the judgment of the minister; and whilst they were under his superintendence, their prophesying was conducted with tolerable regularity; but when they came to practice on this principle where they had not that advantage, the consequence was prejudicial to the establishment of any regular ministry among them. “The preachments of the gifted brethren produced those discouragements, to the ministers, that almost all left the Colony, apprehending themselves driven away by the neglect and contempt, with which the people on this occasion treated them.”* This practice was not allowed in any other Church of New-England, except that of Plymouth,

Beside

Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams *prophesied*; and after, the Governor of Plymouth [Bradford] spake to the question; after him the elder [Brewster] then two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; upon which the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon’s seat, and put into the bag, and then returned.”

* Math. Mag. I. 14.

Beside the liberty of prophesying, and public conference, there were several other peculiarities in their practice, which they learned from the Brownists, and in which they differed from many of the reformed churches.* They admitted none to their communion without either a written or oral declaration of their faith and religious experiences, delivered before the whole Church, with liberty for every one to ask questions till they were satisfied. They practised ordination by the hands of the brethren.† They disused the Lord's prayer and the public reading of the Scriptures. They did not allow the reading of the psalm before singing, till, in compassion to a brother who could not read, they permitted one of the elders or deacons to read it line by line, after it had been previously expounded by the minister.‡ They admitted no children to baptism, unless one, at least, of the parents, were in full communion with the church;

and

* Baylie's *Diffusive from the Errors of the Times*, p. 22.

† Cotton's Appendix, in *Collections of the Historical Society*, IV. 127, 136, &c.

‡ Ainsworth's translation of the Psalms was used in the Church of Plymouth, till 1692, when the New-England version was introduced. Cotton's Appendix.

and they accounted all baptized children proper subjects of ecclesiastical discipline. Whilst in Holland, they had the Lord's Supper every Sabbath; but, when they came to America, they omitted it till they could obtain a minister, and then had it monthly. Most of these practices were continued for many years, and some are yet adhered to, though others have been gradually laid aside.

The Church of Plymouth had no regular minister till four years after the death of Mr. Robinson, and nine years after their coming to America. In 1629, they settled Ralph Smith, who continued with them about five years, and then resigned. He is said to have been a man of "low gifts," and was assisted three years by Roger Williams, of "bright accomplishments, but offensive errors." In 1636, they had John Reyner, "an able and godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and unreprovable in his life and conversation. He continued with them till 1654,* when he removed to Dover,
in

* The succession of ministers, since that time, has been as follows. After a vacancy of 15 years,

In 1669, John Cotton was ordained; and, in 1697, resigned, and removed to Carolina, where he died in 1699.

In

in New-Hampshire, where he spent the remainder of his life.

During his ministry at Plymouth, elder Brewster having enjoyed a healthy old age, died on the sixteenth of April, 1644, being then in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was able to continue his ecclesiastical functions, and his field labour, till within a few days of his death, and was confined to his bed but one day.

He had been remarkably temperate, through his whole life, having drank no liquor but water, till within the last five or six years. For many months together, he had, through necessity, lived without bread ; having nothing but fish for his sustenance, and sometimes was destitute of that. Yet, being of a pliant and cheerful temper, he easily accommodated himself to his circumstances. When nothing but oysters or clams were set on his table, he would give thanks,

In 1699, Ephraim Little was ordained, and died at Plymouth, in 1723 ; being the only minister, of that Church, who died there.

In 1724, Nathaniel Leonard was ordained ; and, in 1757, removed to Norton.

In 1759, Chandler Robbins, D. D. was ordained, and is now living.

thanks, with his family, that they could
“suck of the abundance of the seas, and of
the treasures hid in the sand.”*

He was a man of eminent piety and de-
votion ; not prolix, but full and comprehen-
sive in his public prayers ; esteeming it his
duty, to strengthen and encourage the devo-
tion of others, rather than to weary them
with long performances. On days of fasting
and humiliation, he was more copious; but
equally fervent.† As an instance of this, it
is observed, that in 1623, a drought of six
weeks having succeeded the planting season,
in July a day was set apart for fasting and
prayer. The morning was clear and hot,
as usual, but after *eight hours* employed in
religious exercises, the weather changed, and
before the next morning, a gentle rain came
on, which continued, with intermissions of
fair and warm weather, fourteen days, by
which the languishing corn revived. The
neighbouring Indians observed the change,
and said that “the Englishman’s God was
a good God.”

In

* Deut. xxxiii. 19.

† Morton, Prince, and Winslow,

In his public discourses, Mr. Brewster was very clear and distinguishing, as well as pathetic ; addressing himself first to the understanding, and then to the affections of his audience ; convincing and persuading them of the superior excellency of true religion. Such a kind of teaching, was well adapted, and in many instances effectual, to the real instruction and benefit of his hearers. What a pity that such a man could not have been persuaded to take on him the pastoral office !

In his private conversation, he was social, pleasant, and inoffensive ; yet when occasion required, he exercised that fortitude which true virtue inspires, but mixed with such tenderness, that his reproofs gave no offence.

His compassion towards the distressed was an eminent trait in his character ; and if they were suffering for conscience sake, he judged them, of all others, most deserving of pity and relief. Nothing was more disgusting to him than vanity and hypocrisy.

In the government of the church, he was careful to preserve order and purity, and to suppress contention. Had his diffidence permitted him to exercise the pastoral office,

he would have had more influence, and kept intruders at a proper distance.

He was owner of a very considerable library, part of which was lost, when the vessel in which he embarked was plundered at Boston in Lincolnshire. After his death, his remaining books were valued at forty-three pounds, in silver, as appears by the Colony Records, where a catalogue of them is preserved.

XXV. ROBERT CUSHMAN.*

"ROBERT CUSHMAN was a distinguished character among that collection of worthies, who quitted England on account of their religious difficulties, and settled with Mr. John Robinson, their pastor, in the city of Leyden. Proposing afterwards a removal to America, in the year 1617, Mr. Cushman and Mr. John Carver, (afterwards the first Governor of New Plymouth) were sent over to England, as their agents, to agree with the Virginia Company for a settlement, and to obtain, if possible, a grant of liberty of conscience in their intended plantation, from King James.

From this negotiation, though conducted on their part with great discretion and ability, they returned unsuccessful to Leyden, in May 1618. They met with no difficulty indeed from the Virginia Company, who were willing to grant them sufficient territory, with as ample privileges as they could bestow: But the pragmatical James, the pretended

* This account of Mr. Cushman was published in 1785, at Plymouth, as an Appendix to the third edition of his Discourse on Self-love. It was written by *John Davis, Esq.*

tended vicegerent of the Deity, refused to grant them that liberty in religious matters, which was their principal object. This persevering people determined to transport themselves to this country, relying upon James's promise that he would *connive* at, though not expressly *tolerate* them; and Mr. Cushman was again dispatched to England in February, 1619, with Mr. William Bradford, to agree with the Virginia Company on the terms of their removal and settlement.

After much difficulty and delay, they obtained a patent in the September following; upon which, part of the Church at Leyden, with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, determined to transport themselves as soon as possible. Mr. Cushman was one of the agents in England to procure money, shipping and other necessaries for the voyage, and embarked with them at South-Hampton, August 5th, 1620. But the ship, in which he sailed, proving leaky, and after twice putting into port to repair, being condemned as unfit to perform the voyage, Mr. Cushman with his family, and a number of others, were obliged, though reluctantly, to relinquish the voyage

voyage for that time, and return to London. Those in the other ship proceeded and made their settlement at Plymouth in December, 1620, where Mr. Cushman also arrived in the ship Fortune from London, on the 10th of November, 1621, but took passage in the same ship back again, pursuant to the directions of the merchant adventurers in London, (who fitted out the ship, and by whose assistance the first settlers were transported) to give them an account of the plantation. He sailed from Plymouth December 13th, 1621; and arriving on the coast of England, the ship, with a cargo valued at 500l. sterling, was taken by the French. Mr. Cushman, with the crew, was carried into France; but arrived in London in the February following. During his short residence at Plymouth, though a mere lay character, he delivered a discourse on the sin and danger of self-love, which was printed in London (1622) and afterwards, re-printed in Boston, (1724) and again at Plymouth, (1785.) And though his name is not prefixed to either of the two former editions, yet unquestionable tradition renders it certain that he was the author, and even

transmits

transmits to us a knowledge of the spot where it was delivered. Mr. Cushman, though he constantly corresponded with his friends here, and was very serviceable to their interest in London, never returned to the country again; but, whilst preparing for it, was removed to a better, in the year 1626. The news of his death, and Mr. Robinson's, arrived at the same time, at Plymouth, by Captain Standish, and seem to have been equally lamented by their bereaved and suffering friends there. He was zealously engaged in the prosperity of the plantation, a man of activity and enterprize, well versed in business, respectable in point of intellectual abilities, well accomplished in scriptural knowledge, an unaffected professor, and a steady sincere practiser of religion. The design of the above-mentioned discourse was to keep up that flow of public spirit, which, perhaps, began then to abate, but which was thought necessary for their preservation and security. The policy of that entire community of interests which our fathers established, and which this sermon was designed to preserve, is, nevertheless, justly questionable. The love of separate property, for good and wise purposes, is strongly implanted in the

heart

heart of man. So far from being unfavourable to a reasonable generosity and public spirit, it better enables us to display them, and is not less consistent with the precepts of scripture, rightly understood, than with the dictates of reason. This is evidenced by the subsequent conduct of this very people. In the year 1623, departing a little from their first system, they agreed that every family should plant for themselves ; bringing in a competent portion at harvest, for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c. and in all other things to go on in the *general way*, (as they term it) as before ; for this purpose they assigned to every family a parcel of land, for a year only, in proportion to their number. Even this temporary division, as Governor Bradford, in his manuscript history, observes, " has a very good effect ; makes all industrious ; gives content ; even the women and children now go into the field to work, and much more corn is planted than ever." In the spring of the year 1624, the people being still uneasy, one acre of land was given to each, in fee-simple ; *no more to be given, till the expiration of the seven years.* In the year 1627, when they purchased

purchased the interest of the adventurers in England, in the plantation, there was a division and allotment of almost all their property, real and personal ; twenty acres of tillage land to each, besides what they held before ; the meadows and the trade only, remaining in common.

Thus it is observable, how men, in spite of their principles, are naturally led into that mode of conduct, which truth and utility, ever coincident, point out. Our fathers deserve the highest commendation for prosecuting, at the hazard of life and fortune, that reformation in religion, which the Church of England left imperfect : Taking, for this purpose, the sacred Scriptures, as their only guide, they travelled in the path of truth, and appealed to a most noble and unerring standard ; but when from their reverence to this divine authority, in matters of religion, they were inclined to esteem it the only guide, in all the affairs of life, and attempted to regulate their civil polity upon church ideas, they erred, and involved themselves in innumerable difficulties.

The

The end of civil society is the security of the temporal liberty and prosperity of man, not all the happiness and perfection, which he is capable of attaining, for which other means are appointed. Had not our fathers placed themselves upon such a footing, with respect to property, as was repugnant to the nature of man, and not warranted by the true end of civil society, there would probably have been no just ground of complaint of a want of a real and reasonable public spirit; and the necessity of the exhortation and reproof, contained in Mr. Cushman's discourse, would have been superseeded. Their zeal, their enterprize, and their uncommon sufferings in the prosecution of their arduous undertaking, render it morally certain, that they would have ever cheerfully performed their duty in this respect: Their contemporaries might censure them for what they *did not*, but their posterity must ever admire and revere them for what they *did exhibit.*"

After the death of Mr. Cushman, his family came over to New-England. His son, Thomas Cushman, succeeded Mr. Brewster, as ruling elder of the Church of Plymouth,

being ordained to that office in 1649. He was a man of good gifts, and frequently assisted in carrying on the public worship, preaching, and catechising. For it was one professed principle of that Church, in its first formation, "to choose none for governing Elders, but such as were able to teach." He continued in this office till he died, in 1691, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The above-mentioned discourse of Mr. Robert Cushman, in 1621, may be considered as a specimen of the "prophefyings" of the brethren. The occasion was singular; the exhortations and reproofs are not less so, but were adapted to the then state of society. Some specimens may not be disagreeable, and are therefore here inserted.

" Now, brethren, I pray you remember yourselves, and know that you are not in a retired monastical course, but have given your names and promises one to another, and covenanted here to cleave together in the service of God and the King. What then must you do? May you live as retired hermits, and look after nobody? Nay, you must seek still the wealth of one another; and inquire, as *David*, how liveth such a man? how is he clad?

clad ? how is he fed ? He is my brother, my associate ; we ventured our lives together here, and had a hard brunt of it ; and we are in league together. Is his labour harder than mine ? surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on ? I have two ; I'll lend him one. Hath he no apparel ? I have two suits ; I'll give him one of them. Eats he coarse fare, bread and water ? and have I better ? surely we will part stakes. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other ; so that his wants must be my wants, his sorrows my sorrows, his sickness my sickness, and his welfare my welfare ; for I am as he is. Such a sweet sympathy were excellent, comfortable, yea, heavenly, and is the only maker and conserver of Churches and Commonwealths."

" It wonderfully encourageth men in their duties, when they see the burthen equally borne ; but when some withdraw themselves, and retire to their own particular ease, pleasure, or profit, what heart can men have to go on in their business ? When men are come together to lift some weighty piece of timber, or vessel, if one stand still and do not lift, shall not the rest be weakened and disheartened ?

ened ? Will not a few idle drones spoil the whole stock of laborious bees ? So one idle belly, one murmurer, one complainer, one self-lover, will weaken and dishearten a whole Colony. Great matters have been brought to pass, where men have cheerfully, as with one heart, hand and shoulder, gone about it, both in wars, buildings and plantations ; but where every man seeks himself, all cometh to nothing."

" The country is yet raw ; the land un-tilled ; the cities not builded ; the cattle not settled. We are compassed about with a helpless and idle people, the natives of the country, which cannot, in any comely or comfortable manner, help themselves ; much less us. We also have been very chargeable to many of our loving friends, which helped us hither, and now again supplied us : So that before we think of gathering riches, we must even in conscience think of requiting their charge, love, and labour ; and cursed be that profit and gain which aimeth not at this. Besides, how many of our dear friends did here die at our first entrance ! many of them, no doubt, for want of good lodging, shelter, and comfortable things ; and many more may go after

after them quickly, if care be not taken. Is this, then, a time for men to begin to seek themselves? *Paul* saith, that men in the *last days* shall be lovers of themselves (2 Tim. iii. 2;) but it is here yet but the *first days*, and, as it were, the dawning of this new world. It is now therefore no time for men to look to get riches, brave clothes, dainty fare; but to look to present necessities. It is now no time to pamper the flesh, live at ease, snatch, catch, scrape, and hoard up; but rather to open the doors, the chests, and vessels, and say, Brother, neighbour, friend, what want ye? any thing that I have? make bold with it; it is your's to command, to do you good, to comfort and cherish you; and glad I am that I have it for you."

"Let there be no prodigal son to come forth and say, Give me the portion of lands and goods that appertaineth to me, and let me shift for myself. It is yet too soon to put men to their shifts; *Israel* was seven years in Canaan, before the land was divided unto tribes, much longer before it was divided unto families; and why wouldest thou have thy particular portion, but because thou thinkest to live better than thy neighbour,

hour, and scornest to live so meanly as he ? but who, I pray thee, brought this particularizing first into the world ? Did not Satan, who was not content to keep that equal state with his fellows, but would set his throne above the stars ? Did not he also entice man to despise his *general* felicity and happiness, and go try *particular* knowledge of good and evil ? Nothing in this world doth more resemble heavenly happiness, than for men to live as one, being of one heart, and one soul ; neither any thing more resembles hellish horror, than for every man to shift for himself ; for if it be a good mind and practice, thus to affect particulars, *mine* and *thine*, then it should be best also for God to provide one heaven for thee, and another for thy neighbour.

“ *Objection.* But some will say, If all men will do their endeavours, as I do, I could be content with this generality ; but many are idle and slothful, and eat up others’ labours, and therefore it is best to part, and then every man may do his pleasure.”

“ If others be idle and thou diligent, thy fellowship, provocation, and example, may well help to cure that malady in them, being together ;

together ; but being asunder, shall they not be more idle, and shall not gentry and beggary be quickly the glorious ensigns of your Commonwealth ?”

“ Be not too hasty to say men are idle and slothful. All men have not strength, skill, faculty, spirit, and courage to work alike. It is thy glory and credit, that thou canst do so well, and his shame and reproach, that he can do no better ; and are not these sufficient rewards to you both ?”

“ If any be idle apparently, you have a law and Governors to execute the same, and to follow that rule of the apostle, to keep back their bread, and let them not eat ; go not therefore whispering, to charge men with idleness ; but go to the Governor and prove them idle, and thou shall see them have their deserts.”

“ There is no grief so tedious as a churlish companion. Bear ye one another’s burthens, and be not a burthen one to another. Avoid all factions, frowardness, singularity, and withdrawings, and cleave fast to the Lord, and one to another, continually ; so shall you be a notable precedent to these poor heathens, whose eyes are upon you,

you, and who very brutishly and cruelly do daily eat and consume one another, through their emulations, ways and contentions ; be you, therefore, ashamed of it, and win them to peace, both with yourselves, and one another, by your peaceable examples, which will preach louder to them, than if you could cry in their barbarous language ; so also shall you be an encouragement to many of your Christian friends, in your native country, to come to you, when they hear of your peace, love and kindness. But, above all, it shall go well with your souls, when that God of peace and unity shall come to visit you with death, as he hath done many of your associates, you being found of him, not in murmurings, discontent, and jars, but in brotherly love, and peace, may be translated from this wandering wilderness, unto that joyful and heavenly Canaan." AMEN.

XXVI. EDWARD WINSLOW.

THIS eminently useful person was the eldest son of a gentleman of the same name, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, where he was born in 1594. Of his education and first appearance in life we have no knowledge. In the course of his travels on the continent of Europe, he became acquainted with Mr. Robinson and the Church under his pastoral care at Leyden, where he settled and married. To this Church he joined himself, and with them he continued till their removal to America. He came hither with the first Company, and his name is the third in the list of those who subscribed the Covenant of Incorporation, before their disembarkation at Cape-Cod. His family then consisted of his wife and three other persons. He was one of the Company who coasted the bay of Cape-Cod, and discovered the harbour of Plymouth ; and when the Sachem Masassroit came to visit the strangers, he offered himself as a hostage, whilst a conference was held and a treaty was made with the savage Prince.

M M

His

His wife died soon after his arrival; and in the following spring, he married Susanna, the widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine, the first English child born in New-England. This was the first marriage solemnized in the Colony;* (May 12, 1621.)

In June, he went in company with Stephen Hopkins, to visit the Sachem Mafassoit at Pokanoket.† The design of this visit is related in Bradford's life. The particular circumstances of it may properly be detailed here, in the very words of Winflow's original narrative.

"We set forward, the 10th of June,‡ about nine in the morning; our guide [Tisquantum] resolving that night to rest at Namasket, a town under Mafassoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick, on every slight occasion, among us; but we found it to be fifteen English miles. On the way, we found ten or twelve men, women and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them; perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where vi^tual is easiest to be got,

there

* Prince, 105. † Purchas, iv. 1851.

‡ Mr. Prince thinks this is a mistake, and that it ought to have been the 3d of July.

there they live, especially in the summer ; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither, and now returned with us to Namasket. Thither we came about three in the afternoon ; the inhabitants entertaining us, with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Mazium, and the spawn of shads, which then they got in abundance ; insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them ; with these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shads we eat heartily. They desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them ; who shooting and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions.

“ After this, Tisquantum told us, we should hardly in one day reach Pakánokick,* moving us to go eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went, and came thither at sun-setting ; where we found many of the men of Namasket fishing at a ware which they had made on a river,

* The same with Pokánoket. Indian words are spelled differently by different writers. I here follow the author from whom I copy.

river, which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields ; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode ; upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague, not long since ; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields and so well seated, without men to dress the same.

“ The next morning we brake our fast, and took our leave and departed ; being then accompanied with six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river’s side, at a known shoal place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages, on the opposite side of the river ; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged,

These

These two, spying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank ; where, with shrill voices and great courage, standing, charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage of us in the water : but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had ; and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far, we are sure, the tide ebbs and flows.

“ Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded on our journey, the weather being very hot ; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, beside small rivers in abundance. The savages will not willingly drink but at a spring-head. When we came to any small brook, where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accord ; also fearing we were or would be weary, they offered to carry our pieces, [guns ;] also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried ; and as the one of them had found more special kindness

kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they shewed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

" As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited ; by reason whereof, much ground was clear, save of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, oak, walnut, fir, beech, and exceeding great chesnut trees.

" Afterward we came to a town of Mafassoit's, where we eat oysters, and other fish. From thence we went to Packanokick, but Mafassoit was not at home. There we staid, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting, we would discharge our pieces. One of us going to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear, ran away and could not be pacified till he laid it down again ; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

" Mafassoit being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him, who, after their manner,

manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their King so bravely attired.

“ For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome ; and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us ; and for his men, they should no more pester us, as they had done ; also that he would send to Paomet, and help us to feed-corn, according to our request.

“ This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself and made a great speech ; the meaning wherof (as far as we could learn) was, that he was commander of the country, and that the people should bring their skins to us. He named at least thirty places ; and their answer was confirming and applauding what he said.

“ He then lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the King, marvelling that he could live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen ; bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrowhiganset ;

ganset ; for it was King James's country, and he was King James's man. It grew late, but he offered us no victuals ; for indeed he had not any, being so newly come home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife ; they at the one end, and we at the other ; it being only planks, laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us ; so that we were worse wearied of our lodging, than of our journey.

“ The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachems or petty Governors came to see us, and many of their men also. They went to their manner of games for skins and knives. We challenged them to shoot for skins, but they durst not ; only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark ; who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

“ About one o'clock, Mafassoit brought two fishes that he had shot ; they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. [Probably the fish called Tataug.] These being boiled, there were at least forty, that looked for a share in them ; the most eat of them.

them. This meal only, we had in two nights and a day ; and had not one of us brought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was with us, to stay with him longer ; but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home and feared we should be light-headed for want of sleep ; for what with bad lodging, barbarous singing, (for they use to sing themselves to sleep) lice and fleas within doors, and musketoes without, we could hardly sleep, all the time of our being there ; and we much feared that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.

“ On Friday morning, before sun-rising, we took our leave and departed. Mafassoit being both grieved and ashamed, that he could not better entertain us. Retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place, to procure truck for us, he appointed another [guide] Tokamahamon in his place, whom we found faithful before and after upon all occasions.”

This narrative gives us a just idea of the hospitality and poverty of the Indians. They gladly entertain strangers with the best they can afford ; but it is familiar to them

to endure long abstinence. Those who visit them must be content to fare as they do, or carry their own provision and share it with them.

Mr. Winslow's next excursion was by sea to Monahigon, an island near the mouth of Penobscot Bay, to procure a supply of bread from the fishing-vessels, who resorted to the eastern coast in the spring of 1622. This supply, though not large, was freely given to the suffering Colony; and being prudently managed in the distribution, amounted to one quarter of a pound for each person, till the next harvest. By means of this excursion, the people of Plymouth became acquainted with the eastern coast; of which knowledge they afterwards availed themselves, for a beneficial traffic with the natives.*

In the spring of the year 1623, Mr. Winslow made a second visit to the Sachem, on account of his sickness;† the particular circumstances of which are thus given in his own words.

"News came to Plymouth that Mass'asso-wat‡ was like to die, and that at the same time

* Prince, 119. Purchas, IV. 1836. † Ibid, 1860.

‡ Thus it is spelt in Winslow's narrative.

time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore, before his dwelling, by stress of weather, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity ; therefore it was thought meet, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom ; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

" To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governor [Bradford] again laid this service on myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him ; having one Mr. John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

" The

"The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Combatant's* country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. They told us that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobamock, who desired me to return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Combatant, or Corbitant, was the most likely to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst,† his dwelling place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend to us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the Sachems thereabouts; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means in that unsettled state, to settle their affections toward us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect

* His name is spelt Corbitant, Combatant, and Conbutant. This ferry is probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry, in Swansey.

† A neck of land in the township of Swansey, commonly pronounced Mattapoisett.

spect of our personal safety, yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Mr. Hamden and Hobamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing. So we went toward Mattapuyſt.

"In the wry, Hobamock manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen womasn Sagamus, &c.* "My loving Sachem! many have I known, but never any like thee!" Then turning to me, he said, whilst I livēd, I should never see his like among the Indians. He was no lyar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; ruled by reason, in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, shewing how often he restrained their malice. He continued a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as would have made the hardest heart relent.

"At

" At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the Sachem's place ; Conbutant was not at home; but at Pokanokick, five or six miles off. The squaw Sachem gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat ; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Pokanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbutant with our being there. About half an hour before sun-setting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope that we should find him living. Upon this, we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night when we got thither. About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchman had departed, so that, in that respect, our journey was frustrate.

" When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. They were in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as distempered us that were well, and

and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms and legs to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were come to see him. Having his understanding left, though his sight wholly gone, he asked who was come? they told him *Winsnow*; (for they cannot pronounce the letter L but ordinarily N in place of it;) he desired to speak with me. When I came to him and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, “*keen Winsnow?*” “art thou Winflow?” I answered “*abbe*,” that is, “yes.” Then he doubled these words, “*Matta neen wonckunet namen Winsnow!*” that is to say, “O Winflow, I shall never see thee again!” Then I called Hobamock, and desired him to tell Mafassoit, that the Governor hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many busineses, he could not himself come, yet he had sent me, with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him;

him ; which he desired ; and, having a confection of many comfortable conserves, on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth ; when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him were much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, that it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue ; after which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink ; I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof ; and within half an hour, this wrought a great alteration in him, and presently after his sight began to come to him. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the Governor also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Plymouth, I would send for more of the same ; also for chickens, to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for

for him, and would stay the return of the messenger. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring our good success, and desiring such things as were proper. He requested me that I would the next day take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him such pottage as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised ; but his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn and take the flower from it, and set the broken corn in a pipkin, (for they have earthen pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out to seek herbs, (it being the middle of March) but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful and put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece and boiled it, till it had a good relish. Of this broth I gave him a pint, which he drank and liked it well ; after this his sight mended, and he took some rest. That morning he caused me to spend

in going among the sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths, and give them some of the same I gave him. This pains I took willingly, though it were much offensive to me.

"When the messengers were returned, finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, because he was so much altered, not doubting of his recovery if he were careful. Upon his recovery he brake forth into these speeches : "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me ; whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have shewed me." At our coming away, he called Hobamock to him, and privately told him of a plot of the Massachusetts against Weston's Colony, and so against us. But he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. With this he charged him to acquaint me, by the way, that I might inform the Governor. Being fitted for our return, we took leave of him, who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves, for our labour and love ; the like did all that were about him. So we departed."

In

In the autumn of the same year, Mr. Winflow went to England as agent for the Colony, to give an account of their proceedings to the adventurers, and procure such things as were necessary. Whilst he was in England, he published a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the Colony at Plymouth, under this title, "Good news from New-England, or a relation of things remarkable in that plantation, by E. Winflow."

This narrative is abridged in Purchas's Pilgrims, and has been of great service to all succeeding historians. To it, he subjoined an account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indian natives; which, being an original work and now rarely to be found, is inserted in the Appendix.

In the following spring (March 1624) Mr. Winflow returned from England, having been absent no longer than six months; bringing a good supply of cloathing and other necessaries, and, what was of more value than any other supply, *three heifers and one bull*; the first neat cattle brought into New-England.*

The

* Prince, 146.

The same year, he went again to England, where he had an opportunity of correcting a mistake which had been made in his former voyage.* The adventurers, had then, in the same ship with the cattle, sent over John Lyford, as a minister; who was soon suspected of being a person unfit for that office. When Mr. Winslow went again to England, he imparted this suspicion; and at a meeting of the adventurers, it appeared on examination that Lyford had been a minister in Ireland; where his conduct had been so bad as to oblige him to quit that kingdom; and that the adventurers had been imposed upon, by false testimony concerning him. With this discovery, Mr. Winslow came back to Plymouth in 1625, and found the Court sitting, on the affair of Oldham, who had returned, after banishment. The true characters of these impostors being thus discovered, they were both expelled from the plantation.

About the same time, Governor Bradford having prevailed on the people of Plymouth to choose five Assistants, instead of one, Mr. Winslow was first elected to this office; in which he was continued till 1633, when, by
the

* Prince, 152.

the same influence, he was chosen Governor,* for one year.

Mr. Winflow was a man of great activity and resolution, and therefore well qualified to conduct enterprizes for the benefit of the Colony. He frequently went to Penobscot, Kennebeck, and Connecticut rivers, on trading voyages, and rendered himself useful and agreeable to the people.

In 1635, he undertook another agency in England for the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts ; partly on occasion of the intrusions which were made on the territory of New-England, by the French on the east, and by the Dutch on the west ; and partly to answer complaints, which had been made to the Government against the Massachusetts

Colony,

* The following note from Governor Winthrop's Journal is worthy of observation.† "Mr. Edward Winflow was chosen Governor of Plymouth. Mr. Bradford having been Governor about ten [twelve] years, and now by importunity got off."‡

This singular trait in Bradford's character, of which there is the fullest evidence, sufficiently invalidates an insinuation of Hutchinson, that Winflow's "employment abroad prevented a competition between Bradford and him for the Governor's place."‡

Hutchinson was a Governor of a different character !

† Winthrop's Journal, 47. c.

‡ Hutch. Hist. II. 457.

Colony, by Thomas Morton, who had been twice expelled for his misbehaviour.

At that time, the care of the Colonies was committed to a number of Bishops, Lords, and gentlemen, of whom Archbishop Laud was at the head.* It was also in contemplation to establish a general government in America, which would have superseded the charters of the Colonies.

Winflow's situation, at that time, was critical, and his treatment was severe. In his petition to the Commissioners, he set forth the encroachments of the French and Dutch, and prayed for "a special warrant to the English Colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies."† Governor Winthrop censured this petition, as "ill advised; because such precedents might endanger their liberties; that they should do nothing, but by commission out of England."‡

The petition, however, was favourably received by some of the Board.§ Winflow was heard several times in support of it, and pointed out a way in which the object might have

* Cotton's Appendix. Collections of the Historical Society, vol. IV. 119.

† Hutch. II. 458. ‡ Journal, 89. § Morton, 94.

have been attained without any charge to the Crown, by furnishing some of the chief men of the Colonies with authority, which they would exercise at their own expense, and without any public national disturbance. This proposal crossed the design of Gorges and Mason, whose aim was to establish a general government; and the Archbishop, who was engaged in their interest, put a check to Winflow's proposal, by questioning him on Morton's accusation, for his own personal conduct in America. The offences alleged against him were, that he, not being in holy orders, but a mere layman, had taught publickly in the church, and had officiated in the celebration of marriages. To the former, Winflow answered, "that sometimes, when the church was destitute of a minister, he had exercised his gift for the edification of the brethren." To the latter, "that though he had officiated as a magistrate, in the solemnizing of marriage, yet he regarded it only as a civil contract; that the people of Plymouth had for a long time been destitute of a minister, and were compelled by necessity to have recourse to the magistrate in that solemnity; that this was not to them a novelty,

novelty, having been accustomed to it in Holland where he himself had been married by a Dutch magistrate, in the State-house." On this honest confession, the Archbishop pronounced him guilty of the crime of separation from the national Church, and prevailed on the Board to consent to his imprisonment. He was therefore committed to the Fleet prison, where he lay confined seventeen weeks. But after that time, on petitioning the Board, he obtained a release.

At his return to New-England, the Colony showed him the highest degree of respect, by choosing him their Governor for the succeeding year (1636.) In this office he conducted himself greatly to their satisfaction. In 1644 he was again honoured with the same appointment, and in the intermediate years, was the first on the list of magistrates.

When the Colonies of New-England entered into a confederation for their mutual defence, in 1643, Mr. Winslow was chosen one of the Commissioners on behalf of Plymouth, and was continued in that office till 1646, when he was solicited by the Colony of Massachusetts, to go again to England, to answer the complaints of Samuel Gorton

Gorton and others, who had charged them with religious intolerance and persecution.* The times being changed, and the Puritans being in power, Mr. Winslow had great advantage in this business, from the credit and esteem which he enjoyed with that party. We have no account of the particulars of this agency, but only in general, that "by his prudent management, he prevented any damage, and cleared the Colony from any blame or dishonour."

One design of the confederation of the Colonies, was to promote the civilization of the Indians, and their conversion to the Christian religion. In this great and good work, Mr. Winslow was, from principle, very zealously engaged. In England, he employed his interest and friendship with Members of the Parliament, and other gentlemen of quality and fortune, to erect a Corporation there, for the prosecution of the design.† For this purpose, an act of Parliament was passed (1649) incorporating a Society in England "for propagating the Gospel in New-England." The Commissioners of the United Colonies were constituted a Board

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* Hutch. I. 145, 149.

† Hazard's State Paper, II. 145, &c.

of Correspondents, and distributors of the money, which was supplied in England, by charitable donations, from all the cities, towns, and parishes, in the kingdom.* By the influence and exertions of both these respectable bodies, missions were supported among the Indians of New-England; the Bible and other books of piety were translated into the Indian tongue, and printed for their use; and much pains were taken by several worthy ministers, and other gentlemen, to instruct the Indians, and reduce them to a civilized life. This society is still in existence, and, till the late revolution in America, they kept up a Board of Correspondents at Boston, but since that period, it has been discontinued. Of this Corporation, at its first establishment, Mr. Winflow was a very active and faithful member in England; where his reputation was great, and his abilities highly valued by the prevailing party, who found him so much employment there, and elsewhere, that he never returned to New-England.

When Oliver Cromwell (1655) planned an expedition against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and sent Admiral Penn and General

* Hazard's Collections, I. 636.

General Venables to execute it, he appointed three Commissioners to superintend and direct their operations; of which number Winslow was the chief; the other two were Richard Holdrip, and Edward Blagge.* Their object was to attack St. Domingo, the only place of strength which the Spaniards had in Hispaniola.

The commanders disagreed in their tempers and views, and the control of the Commissioners was of no avail. The troops, ill appointed and badly provided, were landed at too great a distance from the city, and lost their way in the woods. Worn with hunger and thirst, heat and fatigue, they were routed by an inconsiderable number of Spaniards; six hundred were killed, and the remnant took refuge on board their vessels.

To compensate as far as possible for this unfortunate event, the fleet sailed for Jamaica, which surrendered without any resistance. But Mr. Winslow, who partook of the chagrin of the defeat, did not enjoy the pleasure of the victory. In the passage between Hispaniola and Jamaica, the heat of the climate threw him into a fever; which, operating with the dejection of his mind, put

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* Hume, chap. lxi.

an end to his life on the 8th of May, 1655, in the sixty-first year of his age. His body was committed to the deep, with the honours of war, forty-two guns being fired, by the fleet, on that occasion.

The following well-meant but inelegant verses were written by one of the passengers on board the same ship in which he died.

“The eighth of May, west from ‘Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand Commissioner,
Winslow by name ; a man in chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet and conversation just ;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel ;
An honour to his place, as all can tell.”*

Before his departure from New-England, Mr. Winslow had made a settlement on a valuable tract of land in Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Careswell, probably from a castle and seat of that name in Staffordshire.† His son, Josiah Winslow, was a magistrate and Governor of the Colony, and General of the New-England forces, in the war with the Indians, called Philip’s war. He died in 1680. Isaac, the son of Josiah Winslow, sustained the chief civil and military offices in the county of Plymouth, after its incorporation

* Morton’s Memorial.

† See Camden’s Britannia, 534.

ration with Massachusetts; and was President of the Provincial Council. He died in 1738. John Winslow, the son of Isaac, was a Captain in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba in 1740, and afterward an officer in the British service, and Major-General in several expeditions to Kennebeck, Nova-Scotia, and Crown Point. He died in 1774, aged 71. His son, Dr. Isaac Winslow, is now in possession of the family estate at Marshfield. By the favour of this gentleman, the letter-books and journals of his late father, Major-General Winslow, with many ancient family papers, containing a fund of genuine information, are deposited in the library of the Historical Society. There are several other reputable branches of this family in New-England and Nova-Scotia.

XXVII. MILES STANDISH.

THIS intrepid soldier, the hero of New-England, as John Smith was of Virginia, was a native of Lancashire, in the North of England; but the date of his birth is not preserved. Descended from the younger branch of a family of distinction,* he was

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* All which I have been able to collect relative to the family of Standish, is as follows:

Henry Standish, a Franciscan, D. D. of Cambridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, before the reformation, was a bigot to Popery. Falling down on his knees, before King Henry VIII. he petitioned him to continue the religious establishment of his ancestors. This prelate died, A. D. 1535, at a very advanced age.

John Standish, nephew to Henry, wrote a book against the translation of the bible into the English language; and presented it to the Parliament. He died in 1556, in the reign of Queen Mary.†

Sir Richard Standish, of Whittle, near Charley. In his grounds a lead mine was discovered, not long before 1695, and wrought with good success. Near the same place is a quarry of mill-stones.‡

The village of *Standish*, and a seat called *Standish-Hall*, are situate near the river Douglas, in Lancashire, between the towns of Charley and Wigan, which are about 6 miles distant. Wigan is 9 miles north of Warrington, on the southern side of the county.

See Camden's Map of Lancashire.

† Fuller's Worthies of England, 109, 114.

‡ Camden's Britannia, 802.

"heir apparent to a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him," which compelled him to seek subsistence for himself. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. These qualities led him to the profession of arms ; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, a theatre of war, he entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch ; and after the truce, settled with the English refugees, at Leyden.

When they meditated a removal to America, Standish, though not a member of their church, was thought a proper person to accompany them. Whether he joined them at their request or his own motion, does not appear ; but he engaged with zeal and resolution in their enterprise, and embarked with the first company in 1620.

On their arrival at Cape-Cod, he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery ; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen Captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives, he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied

panied with a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the league was made with Masassoit ; one of his petty Sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was meditating to join with the Narragansets, against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's place, [Swanzey] and surrounded his house ; but not finding him at home, they informed his people of their intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. Corbitant hearing of his danger, made an acknowledgment to Masassoit and entreated his mediation with the English for peace. He was soon after [Sept. 13, 1621] admitted, with eight other chiefs, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government.

In every hazardous enterprise, Capt. Standish was ready to put himself foremost, whether the object were discovery, traffic, or war ; and the people, animated by his example, and confiding in his bravery and fidelity, thought themselves safe under his command.

When the town of Plymouth [1622] was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed

committed to the Captain, who made the most judicious disposition of their force. He divided them into four squadrons, appointing those whom he thought most fit, to command; and ordered every man, on any alarm, to repair to his respective station, and put himself under his proper officer. A select company was appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard, with their backs to the fire, that they might prevent the approach of an enemy during the conflagration.

Being sent on a trading voyage to Matachieft, [between Barnstable and Yarmouth, Feb. 1623] a severe storm came on, during the first night, by which the harbour was filled with ice, and Captain Standish with his party were obliged to lodge in one of the huts of the savages. They came together in a considerable number, and under the mask of friendship promised to supply him with corn. Standish suspecting, by their number, that their intention was hostile, would not permit his men to lie down, all at once, but ordered them to sleep and watch by turns. In the morning a discovery was made, that some things had been stolen from his shallop.

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The Captain immediately went with his whole force, consisting of six men, & round-ed the house of the Sachem Ianough, and obliged him to find the thief and restore the stolen things. This resolute behaviour struck them with awe ; the trade went on peacea-bly, and when the harbour was cleared, the shallop came off with a load of corn, and ar-rived safely at Plymouth.

This was the first suspicion of a conspiracy, which had for some time been forming among the Indians, to destroy the English. In the following month, [March] he had another specimen of their insolence at Mano-met,* whither he went to fetch home the corn which Governor Bradford had bought in the preceding autumn. The Captain was not received with that welcome which the Governor had experienced. Two Indians from Massachusetts were there, one of whom had an iron dagger, which he had gotten from

* Manomet is the name of a creek or river which runs through the town of Sandwich, into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Scuffet Creek, (into which Standish went and re-ceived his corn) is the place, which, for more than a cen-tury, has been thought of, as proper to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal, from Barns-table Bay to Buzzard's Bay. Prince, 126.

from some of Weston's people at Wessagusset, [Weymouth] and which he gave to Canacum, the Sachem of Manomet, in the view of Standish. The present was accompanied with a speech, which the Captain did not then perfectly understand, but the purport of it was, "That the English were too strong for the Massachusetts Indians to attack without help from the others; because if they should cut off the people in their bay, yet they feared that those of Plymouth would revenge their death. He therefore invited the Sachem to join with them, and destroy both Colonies. He magnified his own strength and courage, and derided the Europeans because he had seen them die, crying and making four faces like children." An Indian of Paomet was present, who had formerly been friendly, and now professed the same kindness, offering his personal service to get the corn on board the shallop, though he had never done such work before; and inviting the Captain to lodge in his hut, as the weather was cold. Standish passed the night by his fire, but though earnestly pressed to take his rest, kept himself continually in motion; and the next day, by the help of the squaws,

got

got his corn on board, and returned to Plymouth. It was afterward discovered that this Indian intended to kill him, if he had fallen asleep.

About the same time, happened Mr. Winslow's visit to Masaffoit in his sickness, and a full discovery of the plot, which the Indians at Massachusetts had contrived to destroy the English. The people whom Weston had sent to plant a Colony at Weffagusset, were so disorderly and imprudent, that the Indians were not only disgusted with them, but despised them. These were destined to be the first victims. Their overseer, John Sanders, was gone to Monhegan to meet the fishermen, at their coming to the coast, and get some provisions. During his absence, the Indians had grown more insolent than before ; and it was necessary that some force should be sent thither, as well to protect the Colony as to crush the conspiracy. Standish was the Commander of the party ; and as this was his capital exploit, it may be most satisfactory and entertaining to give the account of it, as related by Mr. Winslow in his narrative.

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"The 23d of March [1623] being a yearly Court day, we came to this conclusion; that Captain Standish should take as many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good, against all the Indians in the Massachusets Bay; and because it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore that he should pretend trade, as at other times; but first go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot and the end of his own coming, that by comparing it with their carriage toward them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same; but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure of Wittuwamat, a bloody and bold villain, whose head he had orders to bring with him. Upon this, Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy. On the next day, before he could go, came one* of Weston's

* His name was Phinehas Pratt: An Indian followed him to kill him, but by missing his way, he escaped and got into Plymouth. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his history. The Indian who followed him went to Manomet, and on his return, visited Plymouth, where he was put in irons. Hubbard's MS.

Weston's company to us with a pack on his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriage; whose boldness increased abundantly, insomuch as they would take the victuals out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainsayed them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts. He said that, to give them content, they had hanged one* of the Company,

* Mr. Hubbard's account of this matter, is as follows. "The Company, as some report, pretended, in way of satisfaction, to punish him that did the theft; but in his stead, hanged a poor decrepid old man, that was unserviceable to the Company, and burdensome to keep alive: This was the ground of the story, with which the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called *Hudibras*, did in his poetical fancy, make so much sport. The inhabitants of Plymouth tell the story much otherwise, as if the person hanged, was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest. Yet, it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone."

The passage of *Hudibras* above referred to, is in part 2. canto 2. line 403, &c.

"Tho' nice and dark the point appear,
Quoth Ralph, it may hold up and clear;
That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Justice gives sentence many times,
On one man for another's crimes.

pany, who had stolen their corn, and yet they regarded it not ; that another of them had turned savage ; that their people had mostly forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they

Our brethren of *New-England* use,
 Choice malefactors to excuse,
 And hang the guiltless in their stead,
 Of whom the Churches have less need ;
 As lately happened. In a town,
 There liv'd a Cobler, and but one,
 Who out of doctrine, could cut use,
 And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
 This precious brother, having slain
 In time of peace, an Indian,
 Not out of malice, but mere zeal
 Because he was an infidel ;
 The mighty Tottipotimoy
 Sent to our Elders an envoy,
 Complaining sorely of the breach
 Of league, held forth by brother Patch,
 Against the articles in force
 Between both Churches, his and ours ;
 For which he crav'd the saints to render
 Into his hands, or hang th' offender.
 But they, maturely having weighed,
 They had no more but him of the trade ;
 A man that serv'd them, in a double
 Capacity, to teach and cobble,
 Resolv'd to spare him, yet to do
 The Indian Hogan Mogan, too,
 Impartial justice, in his stead did
 Hang an old Weaver, that was bed-rid.

Then,

they would not take pains to bring it home ; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to perish with hunger and cold, and that they were dispersed into three companies, having scarcely any powder and shot. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed ; and the wind coming fair the next day, March 25, Captain Standish being now fitted, set forth for Massachusetts."

" The Captain being come to Massachusetts, went first to the ship, but found neither man nor dog therein. On the discharge of a musket, the Master and some others shewed themselves, who were on shore gathering ground-nuts and other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them, how they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security ? they answered, like men senseless
of

Then, wherefore may not you be skipp'd,
And in your room another whipp'd ?"

The story is here most ridiculously caricatured as a slur upon the Churches of New-England. I do not find that the people of Weston's plantation had any Church at all ; they were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence. Mr. Neal says, that " he obtained a patent under *pretence* of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America."

Hist. N. E. Chap. iii. p. 102.

of their own misery, that they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword nor gun, or needing the same: To which the Captain replied, that if there were no cause, he was glad: But upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had repos'd most confidence were at the plantation, thither he went, and made known the Indians' purpose, and the end of his own coming; and told them that if they durst not stay there, it was the intention of the Governor and people of Plymouth, to receive them, till they could be better provi-ded for: These men answered that they could expect no better, and it was of God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming, desiring that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed; hereupon he advised them to secrecy and to order one third of their company that were farthest off to come home, and on pain of death to keep there, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn, to a man, for a day, though that was spared out of our seed. The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing."

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"In the mean time an Indian came to him and brought some furs, but rather to get what he could from the Captain than to trade ; and though the Captain carried things as smoothly as he could, yet, at his return, the Indian reported that he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot, who was a Pineſe [chief] being a man of a notable ſpirit to come to Hobamock [Standish's Indian guide and interpreter] and tell him that he understood the Captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the ſavages there : "Tell him, ſaid he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we ſhun him ; but let him begin when he dare, he ſhall not take us at unawares." Many times after, divers of them, feveral or a few together, came to the plantation, where they would whet and sharpen the point of their knives before his face, and uſe many other iuſtling gestures and ſpeeches. Among the reſt, Wittuwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, on the handle of which was pictured a woman's face. "But, ſaid he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it,

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and by and by, these two must be married." Further he said of that knife which he there had, *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*, that is to say, *by and by it should see, by and by it should eat, but not speak*. Also Pecksuot being a man of greater stature than the Captain, told him "though you are a great Captain, yet you are but a little man; though I be no Sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage." These things the Captain observed, but, for the present, bore them with patience.

"On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, but Pecksuot and Wittuwamat being together, with another man and the brother of Wittuwamat a youth of eighteen, putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own men in the same room, the Captain gave the word to his men; and the door being fast shut, he begun himself with Pecksuot and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwamat and the other man; the youth they took and hanged. It is incredible, how many wounds these men received, before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching

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at their weapons, and striving to the last, Hobamock stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action ; which being ended, he, smiling, brake forth and said, " Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great Captain, yet you were but a little man ; but, to-day, I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground."

" There being some women, at the same time there, Captain Standish left them, in the custody of Weston's people, at the town ; and sent word to another Company, to kill those Indian men that were among them. These killed two more ; himself with some of his own men, went to another place and killed another ; but through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings."

" Captain Standish took one half of his men with one or two of Weston's and Hobamock, still seeking them. At length they espied a file of Indians, making toward them ; and, there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it ; whereupon the Indians retreated, and took

each

each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobamock. Whereupon Hobamock cast off his coat, and chased them so fast, that our people were not able to hold way with him. They could have but one certain mark, the arm and half the face of a notable villain, as he drew [his bow] at Captain Standish, who with another, both discharged at him, and brake his arm. Whereupon, they fled into a swamp; when they were in the thicket, they parlied but got nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the Sachem to come out and fight like a man, shewing how base and woman-like he was, in tonguing it as he did; but he refused and fled. So the Captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women and took not their beaver coats from them, nor suffered the least discourtesy to be offered them."

"Now were Weston's people resolved to leave the plantation, and go to Monhegan, hoping to get passage and return [to England] with the fishing ships. The Captain told them, that for his own part, he durst live there with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherwise minded, according to his orders from the Governor and peo-

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ple of Plymouth, he would help them with corn, which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked to go to Monhegan ; and desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop ; and seeing the others set sail, and clear of Massachusetts Bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth, bringing the head of Wittuwamet, which was set up on the fort.”*

“ This sudden and unexpected execution, hath so terrified and amazed the other people who intended to join with the Massachusencks against us, that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distract-ed ; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought diseases upon themselves, whereof many are dead ; as Canacum, Sachem of Manomet ; Aspinet, of Nauset ; and Ianough, of Matachiest. This Sachem, [Ianough] in the midst of these distractions, said, “ the God of the English was offended with

* This may excite in some minds an objection to the humanity of our forefathers. The reason assigned for it was, that it might prove a terror to others. In matters of war and public justice, they observed the customs and laws of the English nation. As late as the year 1747, the heads of the lords, who were concerned in the Scots rebellion, were set up over Temple-Bar, the most frequented passage between London and Westminster. /

with them, and would destroy them in his anger." From one of these places, a boat was sent with presents to the Governor, hoping thereby to work their peace ; but the boat was lost, and three of the people drowned ; only one escaped, who returned ; so that none of them durst come among us."

The Indian who had been confined at Plymouth, on his examination, confessed the plot ; in which five persons were principally concerned, of whom two were killed. He protested his own innocence, and his life was spared, on condition that he would carry a message to his Sachem, Obtakiest, demanding three of Weston's men, whom he held in custody. A woman returned with his answer, that the men were killed before the message arrived, for which he was very sorry.

Thus ended Weston's plantation, within one year after it began. He had been one of the adventurers to Plymouth ; but quitted them, and took a separate patent ; and his plantation was intended to rival that of Plymcuth. He did not come in person to America, till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen, and from them he first heard
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of the ruin of his enterprize. In a storm, he was cast away between the rivers of Pascataqua and Merrimack, and was robbed by the natives of all which he had saved from the wreck. Having borrowed a suit of clothes from some of the people at Pascataqua, he came to Plymouth; where, in consideration of his necessity, the government lent him two hundred weight of beaver, with which he sailed to the eastward, with such of his own people as were disposed to accompany him. It is observed that he never repaid the debt, but with enmity and reproach.*

The next adventure, in which we find Captain Standish engaged, was at Cape Ann, where the fishermen of Plymouth had in 1624 erected a stage, and a company from the west of England in the following year had taken possession of it. Standish was ordered from Plymouth, with a party to retake it; but met a refusal. The controversy grew warm, and high words passed on both sides. But the prudence of Roger Conant, agent for the west countrymen, and of Mr. Pierce, master of their ship, prevented matters from coming to extremity. The ship's crew lent their assistance in building another stage, which

* Prince, p. 135.

which the Plymouth fishermen accepted in lieu of the former, and thus peace and harmony were restored. Mr. Hubbard, who has preserved the memory of this affair, reflects on Captain Standish in the following manner : “ He had been bred a soldier in the low countries, and never entered into the school of Christ, or of John the Baptist ; or if ever he was there, he had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak, rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired ; so was the Plymouth Captain, a man of very small stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion, soon kindled, and, blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched.”*

When the news of the transactions at Wessagusset, where Standish had killed the Indians, was carried to Europe, Mr. Robinson from Leyden wrote to the Church of Plymouth, “ to consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper.† He hoped the Lord had sent him among them

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* Hubbard’s MS. p. 84.

† Hutchinson, II. 462.

for good, if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet; and he thought it would have been happy if they had converted some, before they had killed any."

The best apology for Captain Standish is, that as a soldier he had been accustomed to discipline and obedience; that he considered himself as the military servant of the Colony, and received his orders from the Governor and people. Sedentary persons are not always the best judges of a soldier's merit or feelings. Men of his own profession will admire the courage of Standish, his promptitude and decision in the execution of his orders. No one has ever charged him, either with failure in point of obedience or of wantonly exceeding the limits of his commission. If the arm of flesh were necessary to establish the rights and defend the lives and property of Colonists, in a new country, surrounded with enemies and false friends; certainly such a man as Standish, with all his imperfections, will hold a high rank among the worthies of New-England. Mr. Prince does

does not scruple to reckon him among those heroes of antiquity, “ who chose to suffer affliction with the people of God ; who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens ; ”* and even Mr. Hubbard, in another part of his history, says that Captain Standish “ was a gentleman very expert in military service ; by whom the people were all willing to be ordered, in those concerns. He was likewise improved [employed] to good acceptance and success in affairs of the greatest moment in that Colony ; to whose interest he continued firm and stedfast to the last, and always managed his trust, with great integrity and faithfulness.”†

Two ships which had come, with supplies to the Colony, the same year (1625) returned, in the autumn with cargoes of fish and furs. In one of these, Standish embarked, as agent for the Colony, and arrived safely in England ; the other was captured by a Turkish ship of war, and the loss of her valuable

* Preface to Mason’s History of Pequod war.

† Hubbard’s MS. p. 50.

uable cargo was a severe blow to the Colony. He arrived in a very unfortunate time ; the plague raging in London, carried off more than forty thousand people in the space of one year. Commerce was stagnated, the merchants and members of the Council of New-England were dispersed and no meeting could be holden. All which Captain Standish could do, was, by private conference, to prepare the way for a composition with the Company of adventurers, and by the help of a few friends, with great trouble and danger, to procure a small quantity of goods, for the Colony, amounting to £150, which he took up at the exorbitant interest of 50 per cent. With this insufficient but welcome supply, he returned to Plymouth, in the spring of 1626 ; bringing the sorrowful news of the death of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Cushman.

Several attempts were, about this time, made to form plantations, within the bay of Massachusetts, at Cape Ann and Pascataqua.* Among these adventurers was one Captain Wollaston, "a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some eminence,

* Morton's Memorial, 68.

nence, who brought over many servants, and much provisions." He pitched on the southern side of the bay, at the head of the creek, and called an adjoining hill Mount Wollaston, [Quincy.] One of his company was Thomas Morton, "a pettifogger of Furnalval's Inn," who had some property of his own, or of other men committed to him. After a short trial, Wollaston, not finding his expectations realized, went to Virginia, with a great part of the servants ; and being better pleased with that country, sent for the rest to come to him. Morton thought this a proper opportunity to make himself head of the Company ; and, in a drunken frolic, persuaded them to depose Filcher, the Lieutenant, and set up for *liberty and equality*.

Under this influence they soon became licentious and debauched. They sold their goods to the natives for furs, taught them the use of arms, and employed them in hunting. They invited and received fugitives from all the neighbouring settlements ; and thus endangered their safety, and obliged them to unite their strength in opposition to them. Captain Endicott from Naumkeag made them a visit, and gave them a small check, by cutting

ting down a May-pole, which they had erected as a central point of dissipation and extravagance ; but it was reserved for Captain Standish to break up their infamous combination. After repeated friendly admonitions, which were disregarded, at the request and joint expense* of the scattered planters, and by order of the Government of Plymouth, he went to Mount Wollaston, and summoned Morton to surrender. Morton prepared for his defence, armed his adherents, heated them with liquor, and answered Standish with abusive language. But, when he stepped out of his door, to take aim at his antagonist, the Captain seized his musket with one hand, and his collar with the other, and made him prisoner. The others

* From the bill of expence, sent to the Council of New-England, may be seen the number and ability of the plantations in 1628.

Plymouth contributed	£ 2 : 10
Naumkeag, [Salem]	1 : 10
Pascataquack, [Mason's Company]	2 : 10
Mr. Jeffery and Mr. Burflem,	2
Nantascot,	1 : 10
Mr. Thomson, [Squantum neck]	15
Mr. Blackston, [Boston]	12
Mr. Edward Hilton, [Dover]	1
	—
	12 : 7

others quietly submitted. No blood was shed, nor a gun fired. They were all conducted to Plymouth, and thence sent to England; where Morton was treated with less severity than he deserved, and was permitted to return and disturb the settlements, till the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony, when he retired to Pascataquā, and there ended his days.

After this encounter, which happened in 1628, we have no particular account of Captain Standish. He is not mentioned in the account of the Pequot war, in 1637. He was chosen one of the magistrates or assistants of Plymouth Colony as long as he lived. As he advanced in years, he was much afflicted with the stone and the strangury; he died in 1656, being then very old, at Duxbury, near Plymouth; where he had a tract of land, which to this day is known by the name of Captain's Hill.

He had one son, Alexander, who died in Duxbury. The late Dr. Wheelock, founder of Dartmouth College, and Mr. Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians, were descended from him. One of his grandsons was in possession of his coat of mail, which is now supposed

supposed to be lost ; but his sword is preserved in the Cabinet of the Historical Society, of which one of his descendants, John Thornton Kirkland, is a member. His name is still venerated, and the merchants of Plymouth and Boston have named their ships after him. His posterity chiefly reside in several towns of the county of Plymouth.

XXVIII. JOHN WINTHROP,
FIRST GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THIS worthy gentleman was descended from a family remarkable for its attachment to the reformed religion from the earliest period of the reformation. His grandfather, Adam Winthrop, was an eminent lawyer and lover of the gospel, in the reign of Henry VIII. and brother to a memorable friend of the reformation, in the reign of Mary I. in whose hands the Martyr Philpot left his papers, which make a considerable part of the History of the Martyrs. His father, Adam Winthrop, was a gentleman of the same profession and character. Governor Winthrop was born at the family seat at Groton, in Suffolk, June 12, 1587, and was bred to the law, though he had a very strong inclination to theological studies. At the age of eighteen he was made a Justice of the Peace, and his virtues became conspicuous. He was exemplary in his profession as an upright and impartial magistrate, and in his private character as a christian. He had wisdom to discern, and fortitude to do right in the execution of his office; and as a

T T gentleman,

gentleman, was remarkable for liberality and hospitality. These qualities rendered him dear to men of sobriety and religion, and fitted him to engage in the great and difficult work of founding a Colony.

When the design of settling a Colony in New-England was by some eminent persons undertaken, this gentleman was, by the consent of all, chosen for their leader. Having converted a fine estate of six or seven hundred pounds sterling per annum into money, he embarked for New-England in the forty-third year of his age; and arrived at Salem with the Massachusetts charter, June 12, 1630. Within five days, he, with some of the principal persons of the Colony, travelled through the woods twenty miles, to look out a convenient situation for a town in some part of the Bay of Massachusetts. Some of them built their huts on the north side of Charles river, [Charlestown] but the Governor and most of the Assistants pitched upon the peninsula of *Shawmut*, and lived there the first winter, intending in the spring to build a fortified town, but undetermined as to its situation. On the sixth of December, they resolved to fortify the isthmus of that peninsula;

peninsula ; but changing their minds before the month expired, they agreed upon a place about three miles above Charlestown, which they called first Newtown, and afterwards Cambridge, where they engaged to build houses the ensuing spring. The rest of the winter they suffered much by the severity of the season, and were obliged to live upon acorns, ground-nuts and shell-fish. One of the poorer sort coming to the Governor to complain, was told that the last batch was in the oven, but of this he had his share. They had appointed the 22d of February for a fast ; but, before it came, a ship arrived with provisions, and they turned it into a day of thanksgiving.

In the spring of 1631, in pursuance of the intended plan, the Governor set up the frame of an house at Newtown ; the Deputy-Governor also built one, and removed his family. About this time Chicketawbu, the Chief of the Indians in that neighbourhood, made a visit to the Governor, with high professions of friendship. The apprehension of danger from the Indians abated, and the scheme of a fortified town was gradually laid aside ; though, if it had been retained, the peninsu-

la would have been a situation far preferable to Newtown. The Governor took down his frame and removed it to Shawmut, which was finally determined upon for the metropolis, and named Boston.

The three following years he was continued, by annual election, at the head of the government, for which office he was eminently qualified, and in which he shone with a lustre, which would have done him honour in a larger sphere and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as governor, of an infant plantation. His time, his study, his exertions, his influence, and his interest were all employed in the public service. His wisdom, patience and magnanimity were conspicuous in the most severe trials, and his exemplary behaviour as a christian added a splendor to all his rare qualifications. He maintained the dignity of a Governor with the obliging condescension of a gentleman, and was so deservedly respected and beloved, that when Archbishop Laud, hearkening to some calumnies raised against the country on account of their puritan principles, summoned one Mr. Cleaves before King Charles I. in hopes of getting some accusation

tion against the Governor, he gave such an account of his laudable deportment in his station, and withal of the devotion with which prayers were made, both in private and public, for the King, that Charles expressed his concern, that so worthy a person as Mr. Winthrop should be no better accommodated than in an American wilderness.

He was an example to the people of that frugality, decency and temperance which were necessary in their circumstances, and even denied himself many of the elegancies and superfluities of life, which his rank, and fortune gave him a just title to enjoy, both that he might set them a proper example, and be the better enabled to exercise that liberality in which he delighted, even, in the end, to the actual impoverishment of himself and his family. He would often send his servants on some errand, at meal-times, to the houses of his neighbours, to see how they were provided with food ; and if there was a deficiency, would supply them from his own table. The following singular instance of his charity, mixed with humour, will give us an idea of the man. In a very severe

severe winter, when wood began to be scarce in Boston, he received private information, that a neighbour was wont to help himself from the pile at his door. "Does he," said the Governor, "call him to me, and I will take a course with him that shall cure him of stealing." The man appeared, and the Governor addressed him thus. "Friend, it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood, you are welcome to help yourself at my pile till the winter is over." And then merrily asked his friend whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing?

In the administration of justice, he was for tempering the severity of law with the exercise of mercy. He judged that in the infancy of a plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state. But when other gentlemen of learning and influence had taken offence at his lenity, and adopted an opinion that a stricter discipline was necessary, he submitted to their judgment, and strictly adhered to the proposals which were made to support the dignity of government, by an appearance of union and firmness,

firmness, and a concealment of differences and dissensions among the public officers.

His delicacy was so great, that, though he could not without incivility decline accepting gratuities from divers towns, as well as particular persons, for his public services; yet he took occasion in a public speech, at his third election to declare, that "he received them with a trembling hand in regard of GOD's word, and his own infirmity," and desired them, that for the future they would not be offended, if he should wholly refuse such presents.

In the year 1634, and the two years following, he was left out of the magistracy. Though his conduct, from his first engaging in the service of the Colony, had been irreproachable, yet the envy of some, raised a suspicion of his fidelity, and gave him a small taste of what, in other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have had a large share of. An inquiry having been made of his receipts and disbursements of the public money, during his past administration, though it was conducted in a manner too harsh for his delicate sensibility, yet he patiently submitted to the examination of his accounts, which

ended to his honour. Upon which occasion he made a declaration which he concluded in these words—"In the things which I offer, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the Court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost and labour bestowed in the service of this Commonwealth; but I do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he hath been pleased to honour me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his church and people here; the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompence to me."

The same rare humility and steady equality of mind, were conspicuous in his behaviour, when a pretence was raised to get him left out of the government, lest by the too frequent choice of one man, the office should cease to be elective, and seem to be his by prescription. This pretence was advanced even in the election sermons; and when he was in fact reduced to a lower station in the government, he endeavoured to serve the people as faithfully as in the highest, nor would he suffer any notice to be taken of some undue methods, which were used to have

have him left out of the choice. An instance of this rare temper, and the happy fruit of it, deserves remembrance. There was a time when he received a very angry letter from a Member of the Court; which having read, he delivered back to the messenger with this answer, "I am not willing to keep by me such a matter of provocation." Shortly after, the writer of this letter was compelled by the scarcity of provision, to fend to buy one of the Governor's cattle; he begged him to accept it as a gift, in token of his good will. On which the gentleman came to him with this acknowledgment, "Sir, your overcoming yourself, hath overcome me."

But though condescending and gentle on every occasion of personal ill treatment, yet where the honour of government or religion, and the interest of the people were concerned, he was equally firm and intrepid, standing foremost in opposition to those whom he judged to be really public enemies, though in the disguise of warm and zealous friends. Of this number was the famous ANNA HUTCHINSON, a woman of a masculine understanding and consummate art, who

held private lectures to the women at her house, in which she advanced these doctrines; viz. "that the Holy Ghost dwells *personally* in a justified person, and that sanctification does not evidence justification." Those who held with her were said to be "under a covenant of grace," and those who opposed her "under a covenant of works." Into these two denominations, the whole Colony began to be divided. Her adherents prevailed in 1636 to choose for Governor, HENRY VANE,* a young gentleman of an apparently grave and serious deportment, who had just arrived from England, and who paid great attention to this woman, and seemed zealously attached to her distinguishing tenets. Winthrop, then Deputy-Governor, not only differed

* This person, so well known afterward in England, is thus characterised by lord Clarendon:

"A man of great natural parts and of very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception and ready, sharp and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, a *vultum clausum*, that though no man could make a guess of what he intended, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary, and his whole life made good that imagination. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation [the Scots] which was thought to excel in craft and cunning, which he did with a notable pregnancy and dexterity."

differed in sentiment, but saw the pernicious influence of this controversy with regret, and feared, that if it were suffered to prevail, it would endanger the existence of the Colony. In the heat of the controversy, Whelewright, a zealous Sectarian, preached a sermon, which not only carried these points to their utmost length, but contained some expressions which the Court laid hold of as tending to sedition, for which he was examined ; but a more full inquiry was deferred for that time. Some warm brethren of Boston petitioned the court in Whelewright's favour, reflecting on their proceedings, which raised such a resentment in the Court against the town, that a motion was made for the next election to be made at Cambridge. Vane, the Governor, having no negative voice, could only shew his dislike by refusing to put the question. Winthrop the Deputy-Governor, declined it, as being an inhabitant of Boston ; the question was then put by Endicot of Salem, and carried for the removal.

At the opening of the election (May 17, 1637) a petition was again presented by many inhabitants of Boston, which Vane would have had read previous to the choice. Winthrop, who clearly saw that this was a contrivance

trivance to throw all into confusion, and spend the day in debate, that the election might be prevented for that time, opposed the reading of the petition until the election should be over. Vane and his party were strenuous, but Winthrop called to the people to divide, and the majority appeared for the election. Vane still refused, till Winthrop said they would proceed without him, which obliged him to submit. The election was carried in favour of Winthrop and his friends. The serjeants who had waited on Vane to the place of election, threw down their halberds, and refused to attend the newly elected Governor ; he took no other notice of the affront, than to order his own servants to bear them before him, and when the people expressed their resentment, he begged them to overlook the matter.

The town of Boston being generally in favour of the new opinions, the Governor grew unpopular there, and a law which was passed in this year, of his restoration to office, increased their dislike. Many persons who were supposed to favour those opinions were expected from England, to prevent whose settlement in the country, the Court laid a penalty

alty on all who should entertain any strangers, or allow them the use of any house; or lot, above three weeks, without liberty first granted. This severe order was so ill received in Boston, that on the Governor's return from the Court of Cambridge, they all refused to go out to meet him, or shew him any token of respect. The other towns on this occasion increased their respect towards him, and the same summer, in a journey to Ipswich he was guarded from town to town, with more ceremony than he desired.

The same year a synod was called to determine on the controverted points, in which assembly Winthrop, though he did not preside, yet as head of the civil magistracy, was obliged often to interpose his authority, which he did with wisdom and gravity, silencing passionate and impertinent speakers, desiring that the divine oracles might be allowed to express their own meaning, and be appealed to for a decision of the controversy; and when he saw heat and passion prevail in the assembly, he would adjourn it, that time might be allowed for cool consideration, by which prudent management, the synod came to an amicable agreement in condemning the errors

rors of the day. But the work was not wholly done, until the erroneous persons were banished the Colony. This act of severity the Court thought necessary for the peace of the Commonwealth. Toleration had not then been introduced into any of the protestant countries, and even the wisest and best men were afraid of it as the parent of all error and mischief.

Some of the zealous opinionists in the church of Boston, would have had the Elders proceed against the Governor in the way of ecclesiastical discipline, for his activity in procuring the sentence of banishment on their brethren. Upon this occasion in a well judged speech to the congregation, he told them, that "though in his private capacity, it was his duty to submit to the censure of his brethren, yet he was not amenable to them for his conduct as a magistrate, even though it were unjust. That in the present case, he had acted according to his conscience and his oath, and *by advice of the Elders of the Church*, and was fully satisfied, that it would not have been consistent with the public peace to have done otherwise." These reasons satisfied the uneasy brethren, and

and his general condescending and obliging deportment, so restored him to their affections, that he was held in greater esteem than before; as a proof of this, upon occasion of a loss which he had sustained in his temporal estate, they made him a present, amounting to several hundred pounds.

A warm dispute having arisen in the General Court, concerning the negative voice of the Upper House, the Governor published his sentiments in writing, some passages of which giving great offence, he took occasion at the next meeting of the Court in a public speech, to tell them "that, as to the *matter* of his writing, it was according to his judgment, which was not at his own disposal, and that having examined it by the rules of reason, religion and custom, he saw no cause to retract it; but as for the *manner*, which was wholly his own, he was ready to acknowledge whatever was blameable. He said, that though what he wrote was on great provocation, and to vindicate himself and others from unjust aspersions, yet he ought not to have allowed a distemper of spirit, nor to have been so free with the reputation of his brethren; that he might have maintained

his

his cause without casting any reflection on them, and that he perceived an unbecoming pride and arrogance in some of his expressions, for which he desired forgiveness of God and man!" By this condescending spirit, he greatly endeared himself to his friends, and his enemies were ashamed of their opposition.

He had not so high an opinion of a *democratical* government as some other gentlemen of equal wisdom and goodness; but plainly perceived a danger in "referring matters of counsel and judicature to the body of the people;" and when those who had removed to Connecticut, were about forming their government, he warned them of this danger in a friendly and faithful letter, wherein are these remarkable words: "The best part of a community is always the *least*, and of that best part the wiser is still *less*; wherefore the old canon was, chuse ye out Judges, and thou shalt bring the matter before the Judge."

In 1645, when he was Deputy-Governor, a great disturbance was raised by some petitioners from Hingham, who complained, that the fundamental laws of England were
not

not owned in the Colony, as the basis of government ; that civil privileges were denied to men, merely for not being members of the churches ; and, that they could not enjoy divine ordinances, because they belonged to the Church of England. With these complaints, they petitioned for liberty of conscience ; or, if that could not be granted, for freedom from taxes and military services ; the petition concluded with a menace, that in case of a refusal, complaint would be made to the Parliament of England. This petition gave much offence, and the petitioners were cited to Court, and fined as "movers of sedition." Winthrop was active in their prosecution ; but a party in the House of Deputies was so strong in their favour as to carry a vote, requiring him to answer for his conduct in public ; the result of which was, that he was honourably acquitted. Then resuming his seat, he took that opportunity publickly to declare his sentiments, on the questions concerning the authority of the magistracy, and the liberty of the people. "You have called us (said he) to office, but being called, we have our authority from GOD, it is the ordinance of GOD, and hath

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the image of GOD stamped on it ; and the contempt of it, hath been vindicated by GOD, with terrible examples of his vengeance. When you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to the like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe on ours. The covenant between us and you is, that we shall govern you, and judge your causes according to the laws of GOD* and our best skill. As for our *skill*, you must run the hazard of it ; and if there be an error, not in the will, but the skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you mistake in the point of your liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature ; which is inconsistent with authority, impatient of restraint, the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of GOD are bent against it. But there is a civil, moral, federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority, a liberty for that only which is JUST and GOOD. For this liberty you are to stand with your lives ; and whatever crosses it, is not

* It must be observed, that the Mosaic law was at that time considered as the general standard, and most of the laws of the Colony were founded on it.

not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority, and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted to by all, but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their liberty, by murmuring at the honour and power of authority."

This kind of argument, was frequently urged by the fathers of New-England, in justification of their severity toward those who dissented from them. They maintained that all men had liberty to do *right*, but no liberty to do *wrong*. However true this principle may be in point of morality, yet in matters of opinion, in modes of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order, the question is, who shall be the judge of right and wrong? and, it is too evident from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those who were vested with authority; a principle destructive of liberty of conscience, and the right of private judgment, and big with all the horrors of persecution. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the high church party, who had oppressed them in England; and yet,

yet, such is the frailty of human nature, they held the same principles, and practised the same oppressions, on those who dissented from them. Winthrop, before he left England, was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren ; after he had come to America, he fell in with the reigning principle of intolerance, which almost all the *Reformers* unhappily retained as a relic of the persecuting church, from which they had separated ; but as he advanced in life, he resumed his former moderation ; and in the time of his last sickness, when Dudley, the Deputy-Governor, pressed him to sign an order for the banishment of a person who was deemed heterodox, he refused, saying that “he had done *too much* of that work already.”

Having devoted the greatest part of his interest to the service of the public, and suffered many losses by accidents, and by leaving the management of his private affairs to unfaithful servants, whilst his whole time and attention were employed in the public business, his fortune was so much impaired, that, some years before his death, he was obliged to sell the most of his estate for the payment of an accumulated debt. He also met with

much

much affliction in his family, having buried three wives and six children. These troubles, joined to the opposition and ill treatment which he frequently met with from some of the people, so preyed upon his nature, already much worn by the toils and hardships of planting a colony in a wilderness, that he perceived a decay of his faculties seven years before he reached his grand climacteric, and often spoke of his approaching dissolution, with a calm resignation to the will of Heaven. At length, when he had entered the sixty-third year of his age, a fever occasioned by a cold, after one month's confinement, put an end to his life on the 26th of March, 1649.

The island called Governor's Island, in the harbour of Boston, was granted to him, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. His picture is preserved in the senate-chamber, with those of other ancient Governors. The house in which he lived, remained till 1775, when, with many other old wooden buildings, it was pulled down by the British troops for fuel. He kept an exact journal of the occurrences and transactions in the Colony during his residence in it. This journal

journal was of great service to several historians, particularly Hubbard, Mather, and Prince. It is still in possession of the Connecticut branch of his family, and was published at Hartford in 1790. It affords a more exact and circumstantial detail of events within that period, than any compilation which has been or can be made from it; the principles and conduct of this truly great and good man, therein appear in the light in which he himself viewed them; while his abilities for the arduous station which he held, the difficulties which he had to encounter, and his fidelity in business, are displayed with that truth and justice in which they ought to appear.

He had five sons living at his decease, all of whom, notwithstanding the reduction of his fortune, acquired and possessed large property, and were persons of eminence. Many of his posterity have borne respectable characters, and filled some of the principal places of trust and usefulness.

XXIX. JOHN WINTHROP, F. R. S.

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

JOHN WINTHROP, eldest son of Governor Winthrop, by his first wife, was born at Groton, in Suffolk, Feb. 12, 1605. His fine genius was much improved by a liberal education, in the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin, and by travelling through most of the European kingdoms, as far as Turkey. He came to New-England with his father's family, Nov. 4, 1631; and though not above twenty-six years of age, was, by the unanimous choice of the freemen, appointed a magistrate of the Colony, of which his father was Governor. He rendered many services to the country, both at home and abroad, particularly in the year 1634, when returning to England, he was, by stress of weather, forced into Ireland; where, meeting with many influential persons, at the house of Sir John Closworthy, he had an opportunity to promote the interest of the Colony, by their means.

The next year he came back to New-England, with powers from the Lords Say and Brooke, to settle a plantation on Connecticut

necticut river. But finding that some worthy persons from the Massachusetts had already removed, and others were about removing to make a settlement on that river at Hartford and Weathersfield, he gave them no disturbance; but having made an amicable agreement with them, built a fort at the mouth of the river, and furnished it with the artillery and stores which had been sent over, and began a town there, which, from the two Lords who had a principal share in the undertaking, was called Saybrook. This fort kept the Indians in awe, and proved a security to the planters on the river.

When they had formed themselves into a body politic, they honoured him with an election to the Magistracy, and afterward chose him Governor of the Colony. At the restoration of King Charles II. he undertook a voyage to England, on the behalf of the people, both of Connecticut and New-Haven; and, by his prudent address, obtained from the King a charter, incorporating both Colonies into one, with a grant of privileges, and powers of government, superior to any plantation which had then been settled in America. During this negotiation, at a private conference

conference with the King, he presented his majesty with a ring, which King Charles I. had given to his grandfather. This present rendered him very acceptable to the King, and greatly facilitated the business. The people, at his return, expressed their gratitude to him by electing him to the office of Governor, for fourteen years together, till his death.

Mr. Winthrop's genius led him to philosophical inquiries, and his opportunities for conversing with learned men abroad, furnished him with a rich variety of knowledge, particularly of the mineral kingdom ; and there are some valuable communications of his in the philosophical transactions, which procured him the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had also much skill in the art of physic ; and generously distributed many valuable medicines among the people, who constantly applied to him whenever they had need, and were treated with a kindness that did honour to their benefactor.

His many valuable qualities as a gentleman, a Christian, a philosopher, and a public ruler, procured him the universal respect or

the people under his government; and his unwearied attention to the public business, and great understanding in the art of government, was of unspeakable advantage to them. Being one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New-England, in the year 1676, in the height of the first general Indian war, as he was attending the service at Boston, he fell sick of a fever, and died on the 5th of April, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was honourably buried in the same tomb with his excellent father.*

* Mather's *Magnalia*.

XXX. GEORGE CALVERT, } LORDS
 CECILIUS CALVERT, } BALTIMORE,
 LEONARD CALVERT.

GEORGE CALVERT was descended from a noble family of Flanders, and born at Kipling in Yorkshire, (1582.) He received his education at Trinity College, in Oxford, and after taking his Bachelor's degree, (1597) travelled over the continent of Europe. At his return to England, in the beginning of the reign of James I. he was taken into the office of Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State; and when Sir Robert was advanced to be Lord High Treasurer, he retained Calvert in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters of State.

By the interest of Sir Robert, then Earl of Salisbury, he was appointed one of the Clerks of the Council, and received the honour of knighthood (1617;) and in the following year was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake. Conceiving the Duke of Buckingham to have been instrumental of his preferment, he presented

fended him with a jewel of great value ; but the Duke returned it, with a message that he owed his advancement to his own merit and the good pleasure of his Sovereign, who was fully sensible of it. His great knowledge of public business, and his diligence and fidelity in conducting it, had rendered him very acceptable to the King, who granted him a pension of £1,000 out of the customs.

In 1624, he conscientiously became a Roman Catholic, and having freely owned his principles to the King, resigned his office. This ingenuous confession so affected the mind of James, that he not only continued him on the list of Privy Counsellors, but created him Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford in Ireland.

Whilst he was Secretary of State and one of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, he obtained from the King, a patent for the south-eastern peninsula of Newfoundland, which he named the Province of Avalon ; from Avalonius, a Monk, who was supposed to have converted the British King Lucius, and all his Court to Christianity ; in remembrance of which event, the Abbey of Glastonbury was founded at Avalon in Somersetshire.

setshire. Sir George gave his Province this name, imagining it would be the first place in North-America where the Gospel would be preached.*

At Ferryland, in his Province of Avalon, he built a fine house, and spent £25,000 in advancing his plantation, which he visited twice in person. But it was so annoyed by the French, that though he once repulsed and pursued their ships, and took sixty prisoners; yet, he found his Province so much exposed to their insults, and the trouble and expense of defending it so very great, that he was obliged to abandon it, and be content with the loss of what he had laid out, in the improvement of a territory, the soil and climate of which were considered as unfavourable to his views.†

Being still inclined to form a settlement in America, whither he might retire with his family and friends, of the same religious principles, he made a visit to Virginia, the fertility and advantages of which had been highly celebrated; and in which he had

been

* See Collier's Dictionary, and Kippis's Biog. Britt. article *Calvert*. Fuller's Worthies of England, 202. Camden's Britannia, 63.

† Chalmers, 201.

been interested, as one of the adventurers.* But the people there, being Protestants of the Church of England, regarded him with a jealous eye, on account of his religion ; and by their unwelcome reception of him, he was discouraged from settling within their jurisdiction.

In visiting the bay of Chesapeake, he observed that the Virginians had established trading houses on some of the islands ; but that they had not extended their plantations to the northward of the river Potowmack ; although the country there was equally valuable with that which they had planted.

When he returned to England, he applied to King Charles I. for the grant of a territory northward of the Potowmack ; and the King, who had as great an affection for him as had his father James, readily complied with his request. But owing to the tedious forms of public business, before a patent could be completed and pass the seals, Lord Baltimore died at London on the 15th of April, 1632, in the 51st year of his age.

The

* Smith, 130. Beverley, 46.

The character of this nobleman is thus drawn.* Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety, that all parties were pleased with him, and none complained of him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he examined all letters, and carried to the King every night an exact and well digested account of affairs. He agreed with Sir John Popham in the design of foreign plantations; but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants, Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit; the latter for reasonable expectation, and for employing Governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; he was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest. He left something respecting America in writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed.

After

* Collier and Kippis.

After the death of Sir George, the patent was again drawn in the name of his eldest son Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals on the 28th of June, 1632. The original draught being in Latin, the patentee is called *Cecilius* and the country “*Terra Mariæ*, alias Maryland,”* in honour of Henrietta Maria, the Queen consort of Charles I.†

From the great precision of this Charter, the powers which it gives to the proprietor, and the privileges and exemptions which it grants to the people, it is evident that Sir George himself was the chief penman of it. One omission was soon discovered; no provision was made, that the laws should be transmitted to the Sovereign for his approbation or disallowance. The Commissioners of Trade and Plantations made a representation of this defect to the House of Commons, in

1633,

* Hazard, I. 327.

† Ogilby (p. 183) says that a blank was left for the name of the territory, which Lord Baltimore intended to have filled with *Crescentia*. But when the King asked him for a name, he complaisantly referred it to his Majesty’s pleasure, who proposed the name of the Queen, to which his Lordship could not but consent.

He also says, that the second Lord Baltimore was christened Cecil, in honour of his father’s patron; but was confirmed by the name of Cecilius. (P. 184.)

1633, and an act of Parliament was proposed as the only remedy.*

The province of Maryland is thus described. All that part of a peninsula in America, lying between the ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeak on the west, and divided from the other part, by a right line drawn from Watkin's Point, in the aforesaid bay, on the west, to the main ocean on the east. Thence to that part of Delaware Bay on the north, which lieth *under the fortieth degree* of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New-England ends. Thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountains of the river Potowmack. Thence following the course of said river to its mouth, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeak. Thence on a right line, across the bay to Watkin's Point; with all the islands and islets within these limits.

This region was erected into a Province; and the proprietor was invested with palatine honours. In conjunction with the freemen or their delegates he had legislative, and, in person, or by officers of his own appointment, he had executive powers. He had also the

Y Y advowson

* Chalmers, 203.

advowson of Churches, the erection of manors, boroughs, cities and ports ; saving the liberty of fishing and drying fish which was declared common to all the King's subjects. The Charter provided, that if any doubts should arise concerning the sense of it, such an interpretation should be given as would be most favourable to the interest of the proprietor.

The territory is said to be “in the parts of America *not yet cultivated*, though inhabited by a barbarous people,” and it is provided, that the Province “should not be holden or reputed as *part of Virginia*, or of any other Colony, but immediately dependant on the Crown of England.” These clauses, together with the construction put on the *fortieth degree* of latitude, proved the ground of long and bitter controversies, one of which was not closed till after the lapse of a century.

Twelve years before the date of the Charter, (1620) John Pōrey, sometime Secretary of Virginia, who had sailed into the northern part of the Bay of Chesapeak, reported that he found “near one hundred English people very happily settled there, and engaged in

in a fur trade with the natives."* In the year before the date of the Charter, (1631) King Charles had granted a license under the privy seal of Scotland, to Sir William Alexander, proprietor of Nova-Scotia, and to William Cleyborne, Counsellor and Secretary of Virginia, to trade in those parts of America, for which there had not been a patent granted to others ; and sent an order to the Governor of Virginia to permit them freely to trade there. In consequence of which, Sir John Harvey and his Council, in the same year, had granted to the said Cleyborne, a permission to sail and traffic to the "adjoining plantations of the Dutch, or to any English plantation on the territory of America."† As nothing is said in these instruments, of the Swedes, who first planted the shores of the Bay of Delaware, it has been inferred by the advocates of Baltimore, that they had not settled there previous to the Charter of Maryland ; though the family of Penn insisted on it as a fact, that the occupancy of the Swedes was prior to that period. In consequence of the license given to Cleyborne, he and his associates had made a settlement

* Purchas, v. 1784.

† Chalmers, 227.

tlement on the Isle of Kent, far within the limits of Maryland ; and claimed a monopoly of the trade in the Chefapeak. These people, it is said, sent Burgesses to the Legislature of Virginia, and were considered as subject to its jurisdiction, before the establishment of Maryland.

After receiving the Charter, Lord Baltimore began to prepare for the collecting and transporting a Colony to America. At first, he intended to go in person ; but afterward changed his mind, and appointed his brother Leonard Calvert, Governor, with two Assistants, Jeremy Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. These, with about two hundred persons,* of good families and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, embarked at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, on the twenty-second of November, 1633, and after a circuitous voyage

* The names of the principal men of the Colony were, George Calvert, brother to the Proprietor and Governor,

Richard Gerard,	Henry Green,
Edward Winter,	Nicholas Fairfax,
Frederick Winter,	Thomas Dorrell,
Henry Wiseman,	John Medcalf,
John Sanders,	William Sayre,
John Baxter,	John Hill,
Edward Cranfield,	

See Douglass, II. 357. Chalmers, 207. Oldmixon,
I. 185.

voyage through the West-Indian islands, touching first at Barbadoes and then at St. Christopher's, they came to anchor before Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the twenty-fourth of Febrary, 1634; and, going up to James-Town, delivered to Governor Harvey the letters which the King had written in their favour. The Governor and his Council received them with that civility which was due to the command of their Sovereign; but they resolved "to maintain the rights of the prior settlement." They afforded to the new Colony supplies of provision for domestic use; but considered them as intruders on their territory, and as obstructing that traffic, from which they had derived and expected to derive much advantage.

On the 3d of March, Calvert with his Colony proceeded in the Bay of Chesapeak, to the northward, and entered the Potowmack, up which he sailed twelve leagues, and came to anchor under an island, which he named *St. Clement*. Here he fired his cannon, erected a crofs, and took possession, "in the name of the Saviour of the world and the King of England." Thence he went with his pinnaces fifteen leagues higher to the

Indian

Indian town of Potowmack, on the Virginian side of the river, now called New-Marlborough ; where he was received in a friendly manner by the Guardian Regent, the Prince of the country being a minor. Thence he sailed twelve leagues farther, to the town of Piscataway, on the Maryland side ; where he found *Henry Fleet*, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem. He procured an interview between Calvert and the Werowance or Lord of the place, and officiated as their interpreter. Calvert, determining to pursue a course of conduct founded on pacific and honourable intentions, asked the Werowance, whether he was willing that he and his people should settle in his country. His answer was short and prudent : "I will not bid you to go, nor to stay ; but you may use your own discretion." This interview was held on board the Governor's pinnace ; the natives on the shore crowded to the water's edge, to look after their Sovereign, and were not satisfied of his safety, till he stood up and showed himself to them.

Having

Having made this discovery of the river, and convinced the natives that his designs were amicable, the Governor, not thinking it adviseable to make his first settlement, so high up the river, sailed down to the ships, taking Fleet with him for a guide. The natives, who, when they first saw the ships and heard the guns, had fled from St. Clement's Island and its neighbourhood, returned to their habitations, and seemed to repose confidence in their new friends; but this was not deemed a proper station. Under the conduct of Fleet, the Governor visited a creek on the northern side of the Potowmack, about four leagues from its mouth, where was an Indian village, surrounded by corn-fields, and called Yoacomaco. Calvert went on shore, and acquainted the Prince of the place with his intention; who was rather reserved in his answer, but entertained him in a friendly manner, and gave him a lodging in his own bed.

On the next day, he showed Calvert the country; which pleased him so well, that he determined there to fix his abode; and treated with the Prince about purchasing the place. Calvert presented him and his principal men with English cloth, axes, hoes

and

and knives ; and they consented that their new friends should reside in one part of their town, and themselves in the other part, till the next harvest ; when they promised to quit the place, and resign it wholly to them. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner ; or, if any injury should be done, on either side, the offending party should make satisfaction. Calvert having given them what he deemed a valuable consideration, with which they appeared to be content, they readily quitted a number of their houses and retired to the others ; and, it being the season for planting, both parties went to work. Thus on the 27th of March, 1634, the English Colony took peaceable possession of the country of Maryland ; and gave to the town the name of St. Mary, and to the creek, on which it was situate, the name of St. George.

The desire of quieting the natives, by giving them a reasonable and satisfactory compensation for their lands, is a trait in the character of the first planters, which will always do honour to their memory.

It was a fortunate circumstance for these adventurers, that, previous to their arrival,

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the Indians of Yoacomaco, had resolved to quit their country, and retire to the westward, that they might be free from the incursions of the Susquehanocks, a powerful and warlike nation, residing between the Bays of Chesapeak and Delaware, who frequently invaded them, and carried off their provisions and women. Some had actually removed, and the others were preparing to follow, but were encouraged to remain another season, by the presence of the English. They lived on friendly terms with the Colony ; the men assisted them in hunting and fishing ; the women taught them to manage the planting and culture of corn, and the making it into bread ; and they were compensated for their labour and kindness in such tools and trinkets as were pleasing to them. According to their promise, they quitted the place wholly, in the following year, and the Colony had full and quiet possession.

At his first settlement in this place, Calvert erected a house, and mounted a guard for the security of his people and stores. He was, soon after, visited by Sir John Harvey and by several of the Indian Princes. At an en-

ertainment on board one of the ships, the Werowance of Patuxent was seated between the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Maryland. One of his own subjects coming on board and seeing his Sovereign in that situation, started with surprize, thinking him a prisoner, as he had been, once before, to the Virginians. The Prince rose from the table, and satisfied the Indian that he was safe; which prevented his affectionate subject from leaping into the water, as he had attempted. This Werowance was so much pleased with the conduct of Calvert and his people, that after many other compliments he said to them, at parting, "I love the English so well, that if I knew they would kill me, I would command my people not to revenge my death; because I am sure, they would not kill me, but through my own fault."

The Colony had brought with them English meal; but they found Indian corn in great plenty, both at Barbadoes and Virginia; and by the next spring, they were able to export one thousand bushels to New-England and Newfoundland; for which they received dried fish and other provisions in return. They procured cattle, swine and poultry

poultry from Virginia. They were very industrious in building houses and making gardens ; in which they sowed the seeds of European esculent vegetables ; and had the pleasure of seeing them come to high perfection. They suffered much in their health by the fever and ague, and many of them died ; but when the survivors were seasoned to the climate, and had learned the use of indigenous medicinal remedies, they enjoyed their health much better. The country had so many natural advantages, that it soon became populous. Many Roman Catholic families from England resorted thither, and the proprietor, with a degree of wisdom and generosity, then unparalleled but in Holland, after having established the Christian religion upon the footing of common law, granted liberty of conscience and equal privileges to Christians of every denomination. With this essential benefit, was connected security of property ; lands were given in lots of fifty acres, to every emigrant, in absolute fee simple. Under such advantages the people thought themselves so happy, that in an early period of their Colonial existence, they in return granted to the proprietor a subsidy of fifteen

fifteen pounds of tobacco, on every poll, "as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude, in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for reimbursing his vast expense;" which during the two first years exceeded forty thousand pounds sterling.*

* Chalmers, 208.

XXXI. WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, was the grandson of Captain Giles Penn, an English Consul in the Mediterranean; and the son of Sir William Penn, an Admiral of the English navy, in the Protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II. in which offices he rendered very important services to the nation, particularly by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and in a naval victory over the Dutch. William was born October 14, 1644, in the parish of St. Catherine, near the tower of London, educated at Chigwell, in Essex, and at a private school in London; and in the fifteenth year of his age entered as a student and gentleman commoner of Christ-Church College in Oxford.

His genius was bright; his disposition sober and studious, and being possessed of a lively imagination and a warm heart, the first turn of his mind toward religious subjects, was attended with circumstances bordering on enthusiasm. Having received his first impressions from the preaching of Thomas

Thomas Loe, an itinerant Quaker, he conceived a favourable opinion of the flights and refinements of that rising sect, which led him, while at the University, in conjunction with some other students, to withdraw from the established worship, and hold a private meeting, where they preached and prayed in their own way. The discipline of the University being very strict in such matters, he was fined for the *sin* of non-conformity; this served to fix him more firmly in his principles and habits, and exposed his singularity more openly to the world. His conduct being then deemed obstinate, he was, in the sixteenth year of his age, expelled as an incorrigible offender against the laws of uniformity.

On his return home, he found his father highly incensed against him. As neither remonstrances, nor threatenings, nor *blows*, could divest him of his religious attachments, he was, for a while, turned out of the house; but by the influence of his mother he was so far restored to favour as to be sent to France, in company with some persons of quality, with a view to unbend his mind, and refine his manners. Here he learned the language
of

of the country, and acquired such a polite and courtly behaviour, that his father, after two years absence, received him with joy, hoping that the object of his wishes was attained. He was then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, where he studied law till the plague broke out in 1665, when he returned to his father's house.

About this time (1666) the King's coffers being low, and claims for unrewarded services being importunate, grants were frequently made of lands in Ireland; and the merits of Sir William Penn being not the least conspicuous, he received a valuable estate in the county of Cork, and committed the management of it to his son, then in the twenty-second year of his age. Here he met with his old friend Loe, and immediately attached himself to the society of Quakers, though at that time they were subject to severe persecution. This might have operated as a discouragement to a young gentleman of such quality and expectations, especially as he exposed himself thereby to the renewed displeasure of a parent who loved him, had not the integrity and fervor of his mind induced him to sacrifice all worldly considerations

considerations to the dictates of his conscience.

It was not long before he was apprehended at a religious "*conventicle*," and, with eighteen others, committed to prison by the Mayor of Cork; but upon his writing a handsome address to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, in which he very sensibly pleaded for liberty of conscience, and professed his desire of a peaceable, and his abhorrence of a tumultuous and disrespectful separation from the established worship, he was discharged. This second stroke of persecution engaged him more closely to the Quakers: He associated openly with them, and bore, with calmness and patience, the cruel abuse which was liberally bestowed on that singular party.

His father being informed of his conduct, remanded him home; and though now William's age forbade his trying the force of that species of discipline, to which, as a naval commander, he had been accustomed, yet he plied him with those arguments, which it was natural for a man of the world to use, and which, to such an one, would have been prevailing. The principal one was a threatening

ning to disinherit him ; and to this he humbly submitted, though he could by no means be persuaded to take off his hat in presence of the King, the Duke of York, or his father. For this inflexibility he was again turned out of doors ; upon which he commenced an itinerant preacher, and had much success in making proselytes. In these excursions, the opposition which he met with from the clergy and the magistracy, frequently brought him into difficulties, and sometimes to imprisonment ; but his integrity was so manifest, and his patience so invincible, that his father, at length, became softened toward him, and not only exerted his interest to release him from confinement, but winked at his return to the family whenever it suited his conveniency. His mother was always his friend, and often supplied his necessities without the knowledge of the father.

In the year 1668, he commenced author ; and, having written a book, entitled "The sandy foundation shaken," which gave great offence to the spiritual lords, he was imprisoned in the tower, and the visits of his friends were forbidden. But his adversaries found him proof against all their efforts to

subdue him ; for a message being brought to him by the Bishop of London, that he must either publickly recant, or die a prisoner, his answer was, “ My prison shall be my grave. I owe my conscience to no man. They are mistaken in me ; I value not their threats. They shall know that I can weary out their malice, and baffle all their designs, by the spirit of patience.” During this confinement he wrote his famous book, “ No Cross, no Crown ;” and another, “ Innocency with her open face,” in which he explained and vindicated the principles which he had advanced in the book for which he was imprisoned. This, with a letter which he wrote to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, aided by the interest which his father had at Court, procured his release, after seven months’ confinement.

Soon after this, he made another visit to Ireland, to settle his father’s concerns, in which he exerted himself with great industry and success. Here he constantly appeared at the meetings of the Quakers, and not only officiated as a preacher, but used his interest with the Lord Lieutenant, and others of the nobility, to procure indulgence for -

for them, and get some of them released from their imprisonment.

In 1670, an act of Parliament was made, which prohibited the meetings of Dissenters, under severe penalties. The Quakers being forcibly debarred entering their meeting-house in Grace-Church street, London, assembled before it in the street, where Penn preached to a numerous concourse; and being apprehended on the spot, by a warrant from the Lord Mayor, was committed to Newgate, and, at the next session, took his trial at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded his own cause with the freedom of an Englishman and the magnanimity of a hero. The jury at first brought in their verdict, "guilty of speaking in Grace-Church street;" but this being unsatisfactory to the Court, they were detained all night, and the next day returned their verdict "not guilty." The Court were highly incensed against them, fined them forty marks each, and imprisoned them along with Penn, till their fines and fees were paid. An unlucky expression which dropped from the Recorder on this trial, rendered the cause of the Quakers popular, and their persecutors odious: "It will never

never be well with us," said the infamous Sir John Howel, "till something like the Spanish inquisition be established in England." The triumph of Penn was complete : being acquitted by his peers, he was released from prison, on the payment of his fees, and returned to the zealous exercise of his ministry.

His conduct under this prosecution did him great honour. His father became perfectly reconciled to him, and soon after died,* leaving his paternal blessing and a plentiful estate. This accession of fortune made no alteration in his manners or habits : He continued to preach, to write, and to travel as before ; and, within a few months afterwards, was taken up again for preaching in the street, and carried to the tower ; from whence, after a long examination, he was sent

* The dying advice of his father to him deserves to be remembered. "Three things I commend to you. 1. Let nothing tempt you to wrong your conscience : If you keep peace at home, it will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. 2. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably ; for that gives security and dispatch. 3. Be not troubled at disappointments : if they may be recovered, do it ; if not, trouble is vain.—These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."

fent to Newgate, and being discharged without any trial, at the end of nine months, he went over to Holland and Germany, where he continued travelling and preaching, till the King published his declaration of indulgence to tender consciences ; upon which he returned to England, married a daughter of Sir William Springet, and settled at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire ; where he pursued his studies, and multiplied his controversial writings for about five years.

In 1677, he “had a drawing” to renew his travels in Holland and Germany, in company with Fox, Barclay, Keith, and several others of his brethren. The inducement to this journey was the candid reception which had been given by divines, and other learned men in Germany, to the sentiments of every well-meaning preacher who dissented from the Church of Rome. In the course of these travels they settled the order of Church government, discipline, correspondence, and marriage* among their friends in Holland ;

* It may not be amiss here to introduce an extract from Mr. Penn’s journal containing the sentiments of the Quakers concerning marriage. “Amsterdam, the 3d of the 6th month, 1677. A scruple concerning the law of

Holland; dispersed their books among all sorts of people who were inclined to receive them; visited many persons of distinction, and wrote letters to others, particularly to the King of Poland and the Elector Palatine. They were received very courteously by the Princess Elizabeth, grand-daughter of King James I. then resident at Herwerden, who, though not perfectly initiated into the mystery of "the holy silence," yet had been brought to a "waiting frame," and admitted them to several private meetings and conferences in her apartments, in company with the Countess of Hornes, and other ladies, her attendants; and afterwards kept up a correspondence with Mr. Penn till her death.

On

the magistrate about marriage, being proposed and discussed of in the fear of God, among friends, at a select meeting, it was the universal and unanimous sense of friends, that joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not of priest or magistrate. It is God's ordinance, and not man's. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work in the restoration. We marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses. But if a friend have a desire that the magistrate should know it before the marriage be concluded, he may publish the same (after the thing hath by friends been found clear) and after the marriage is performed in a public meeting of friends and others, may carry a copy of the certificate to the magistrates, that, if they please, they may register it."

On his return to England, he found his friends suffering by the operation of a law made against Papists, the edge of which was unjustly turned against them. The law required a certain oath to be tendered to those who were suspected of Popery ; and because the Quakers denied the lawfulness of oaths, in any case whatever, they were obliged to bear the penalty annexed to the refusal of this oath, which was no less than a fine of twenty pounds per month, or two-thirds of their estate. By Penn's advice they petitioned the Parliament for redress of this grievance, and, after explaining the reason of their declining the oath, offered to give their *word* to the same purport, and to submit to the penalty, " if they should be found faulty." Penn had a hearing before a committee of Parliament, when he pleaded the cause of his friends and of himself, in a sensible, decent, convincing manner ; and what he said had so much weight, that the committee agreed to insert in a bill, then pending, a proviso for their relief. The bill passed the Commons, but before it could be got through the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament.

We

We have hitherto viewed Mr. Penn as a Christian and a preacher ; and he appears to have been honest, zealous, patient and industrious in the concerns of religion. His abilities and his literary acquirements were eminently serviceable to the fraternity with which he was connected ; and it was owing to his exertions, in conjunction with Barclay and Keith, that they were formed into order, and that a regular correspondence and discipline were established among the several societies of them dispersed in Europe and America. His writings served to give the world a more just and favourable idea of their principles, than could be had from the harangues of illiterate preachers, or the rhapsodies of enthusiastic writers ; while his family and fortune procured for them a degree of respectability at home and abroad. His controversial writings are modest, candid and persuasive. His book, entitled "The Christian Quaker," is a sensible vindication of the doctrine of Universal Saving Light. His style is clear and perspicuous ; and though he does not affect so much scholastic subtlety in his argumentation as his friend Barclay, yet he is by no means inferior to him in solidity

lidity of reasoning. His character is thus drawn by the editor of his works: "Our worthy friend, William Penn, was known to be a man of great abilities; of an excellent sweetness of disposition; of quick thought and ready utterance; full of love, without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge; so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted. He was learned without vanity; apt without forwardness; facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious; of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition.

We shall now view him in the character of a **LEGISLATOR**, in which respect his learning, his sufferings, his acquaintance with mankind, and his genuine liberality, were of great use to him. Among his various studies, he had not omitted to acquaint himself with the principles of law and government; and he had more especial inducements to this, from the prosecutions and arrests which he frequently suffered, into the legality of which it was natural for him to inquire. He had observed in his travels abroad, as well as in his acquaintance at

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home,

home, the workings of arbitrary power, and the mischiefs of usurpation ; and he had studied the whole controversy between regal and popular claims : the result of which was, that government must be founded in justice, and exercised with moderation. One of his maxims was, that “the people being the *wife-politic* of the prince, is better managed by wisdom than ruled by force.” His own feelings, as well as reflections, led him to adopt the most liberal idea of toleration. Freedom of profession and inquiry, and a total abhorrence of persecution for conscience sake, were his darling principles ; and it is a singular circumstance in the history of mankind, that Divine Providence should give to such a man as William Penn an opportunity to make a fair and *consistent* experiment of these excellent maxims, by establishing a Colony in America, on the most liberal principles of toleration, at a time, when the policy of the oldest nations in Europe were ineffectually employed in endeavouring to reduce the active minds of men to a most absurd uniformity in articles of faith and modes of worship.

It

It has been observed that his father, Sir William Penn, had merited much by his services in the English navy. There were also certain debts due to him from the Crown, at the time of his death, which the royal treasures were poorly able to discharge. His son, after much solicitation, found no prospect of getting his due, in the common mode of payment, and therefore turned his thoughts toward obtaining a grant of land in America, on which he might make the experiment of settling a Colony, and establishing a government suited to his own principles and views.

Mr. Penn had been concerned with several other Quakers in purchasing of Lord Berkeley, his patent of West-Jersey, to make a settlement for their persecuted brethren in England, many of whom transported themselves thither, in hope of an exemption from the troubles which they had endured, from the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters. But they found themselves subject to the arbitrary impositions of Sir Edmund Andros, who governed the Duke of York's territory, and exercised jurisdiction over all the settlements on both sides the Delaware. Penn and his associates remonstrated against his

his conduct, but their efforts proved ineffectual. However, the concern which Penn had in this purchase gave him not only a taste for speculating in landed interest, but a knowledge of the middle region of the American coasts; and being desirous of acquiring a separate estate, where he might realize his sanguine wishes, he had great advantage in making inquiry and determining on a place.

Having examined all the former grants to the companies of Virginia and New-England, the Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York, he fixed upon a territory bounded on the east by the bay and river of Delaware, extending southward to Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland, westward as far as the western extent of Maryland, and northward "as far as plantable." For this he petitioned the King; and being examined before the Privy Council, on the 14th of June, concerning of those words of his petition "as far as plantable," he declared, "that he should be satisfied with the extent of *three degrees of latitude*; and that in lieu of such a grant, he was willing to remit his debt from the crown, or *some part* of it, and to stay

stay for the remainder, till his Majesty should be in a better condition to satisfy it."

Notice of this application was given to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, and inquiry was made, how far the pretensions of Penn might consist with the grants already made to them. The peninsula between the bays of Cheaspeak and Delaware had been planted by detached companies of Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. It was, first by force, and afterwards by treaty, brought under the dominion of the Crown of England. That part of it which bordered on the Delaware was within the Duke of York's patent, while that which joined on the Cheaspeak was within the grant to Lord Baltimore.

The Duke's agent consented that Penn should have the land west of Delaware and north of Newcastle, "in consideration of the *reason* he had to expect *favour* from his Majesty." Lord Baltimore's agent petitioned that Penn's grant might be expressed to lie north of Susquehannah fort, and of a line drawn east and west from it, and that he might not be allowed to sell arms and ammunition

munition to the Indians. To these restrictions Penn had no objection.

The draught of a charter being prepared, it was submitted to Lord Chief Justice North, who was ordered to provide by fit clauses for the interest of the King and the encouragement of the planters. While it was under consideration, the Bishop of London petitioned that Penn might be obliged by his patent to admit a Chaplain of his Lordship's appointment, at the request of any number of the planters. The giving a name to the province was left to the King.

The Charter, consisting of twenty-three sections, "penned with all the appearance of candour and simplicity," was signed and sealed by King Charles II, on the 4th of March, 1681. It constitutes WILLIAM PENN, and his heirs, true and absolute proprietaries of the Province of PENNSYLVANIA, saving to the crown their allegiance and the sovereignty. It gives him, his heirs and their deputies, power to make laws "for the good and happy government of the country," by advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of England.

England. For the encouragement of planters, they were to enjoy the privileges of English subjects, paying the same duties in trade ; and no taxes were to be levied on them, but by their own Assemblies, or by acts of Parliament. With respect to religion, no more is said than what the Bishop of London had suggested, that if twenty inhabitants should desire a preacher of his Lordship's approbation, he should be allowed to reside in the Province. This was perfectly agreeable to Mr. Penn's professed principles of liberty of conscience ; but it may seem rather extraordinary that this distinguished leader of a sect, who so pointedly denied the lawfulness of war, should accept the powers given him in the sixteenth article of the charter, "to levy, muster and train all sorts of men ; to pursue and vanquish enemies ; to take and put them to death by the laws of war ; and to do every thing which belongeth to the office of CAPTAIN-GENERAL in an army." Mr. Penn, for reasons of State, might find it convenient that he and his heirs should be thus invested with the power of the sword, though it was impossible for him or them to exercise it, without first apostatizing from their religious profession.

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The Charter being thus obtained, he found himself authorized to agree with such persons as were disposed to be adventurers to his new Province. By a public advertisement, he invited purchasers, and described the country, with a display of the advantages which might be expected from a settlement in it. This induced many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, to think of a removal. A number of merchants and others formed themselves into a company, for the sake of encouraging the settlement and trade of the country, and purchased twenty thousand acres of his land. They had a President, Treasurer, Secretary, and a committee of twelve, who resided in England and transacted their common business. Their objects were to encourage the manufactures of leather and glass, the cutting and sawing of timber, and the whale-fishery.

The land was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. They who rented lands were to pay one penny yearly per acre. Servants, when their terms were expired, were entitled to fifty acres, subject to two shillings per annum; and their masters were allowed fifty acres for each

each servant, so liberated, but subject to four shillings per annum; or if the master should give the servant fifty acres out of his own division, he might receive from the proprietor one hundred acres, subject to six shillings per annum. In every hundred thousand acres, the proprietor reserved ten for himself.

The quit-rents were not agreed to without difficulty. The purchasers remonstrated against them as a burden, unprecedented in any other American Colony. But Penn distinguished between the character of Proprietor and Governor, urging the necessity of supporting government with dignity, and that by complying with this expedient, they would be freed from other taxes. Such distinctions are very convenient to a politician, and by this insinuation the point was carried: upon which it was remarked, (perhaps too severely) that "less of the man of God now appeared, and more of the man of the world."

According to the powers given by the charter, "for regulating and governing property within the province," he entered into certain articles with the purchasers and adventurers (July 11, 1681) which were en-

titled "Conditions and Concessions." These related to the laying out roads, city and country lots; the privilege of water-courses; the property of mines and minerals; the reservation of timber and mulberry-trees; the terms of improvement and cultivation; the traffic with the Indians, and the means of preserving peace with them; of preventing debtors, and other defaulters, from making their escape; and, of preserving the morals of the planters, by the execution of the penal laws of England, till an Assembly should meet.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the first Colony, under his authority, came over to America, and began their settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. By them the Proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the GREAT GOD had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world; and that the *King* of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but, that he did not desire to enjoy it without *their* consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; but if any difference

ference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men, chosen on both sides." With this letter, he appointed Commissioners to treat with the Indians, about purchasing land, and promised them, that he would shortly come and converse with them in person.

About this time (Nov. 1681) he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

The next spring, he completed a frame of government (April 25, 1682) with the express design "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." It is prefaced with a long discourse on the nature, origin, use and abuse of government; which shews that he had not only well studied the subject, but that he was fond of displaying his knowledge.

By this frame of government, there was to be a Provincial Council, consisting of *twenty-two* persons, answering to the number of elders in the Jewish sanhedrim, who were to be divided into three classes; twenty-four to serve for three years, twenty-four for two years, and twenty-four for one year; the vacancies thus made to be supplied by new elections;

elections ; and after seven years, every one of those who went off yearly, were to be incapable of re-election for one year following. This rotation was intended "that *all* might be fitted for government, and have experience of the care and burthen of it." Of this council two-thirds were to be a quorum, and the consent of two-thirds of this quorum was to be had in all matters of moment ; but in matters of lesser moment one-third might be a quorum, the majority of whom might determine. The distinction between matters of moment, and of lesser moment was not defined ; nor was it declared who was to be judge of the distinction. The Governor was not to have a negative but a treble voice. The Council were to prepare and propose bills to the General Assembly, which were to be published, thirty days before its meeting. When met, the Assembly might deliberate eight days, but on the ninth were to give their assent or dissent to the proposed bills ; two-thirds of them to be a quorum. With respect to the number of the Assembly, it was provided, that the first year *all* the freemen in person might compose it ; afterward a delegation of two hundred,

dred, which might be increased to five hundred. The Governor, with the Council, to be the supreme executive, with a parental and prudential authority, and to be divided into four departments of eighteen each ; one of which was called a committee of plantations, another of justice and safety, another of trade and revenue, and another of manners, education and arts.

To this frame of government was subjoined a body of fundamental laws, agreed upon by Penn and the adventurers in London, which respected moral, political and economical matters ; which were not to be altered, but by the consent of the Governor, or his heirs, and six parts in seven of the freemen, met in Provincial Council and Assembly. In this code we find that celebrated declaration, which has contributed more than any thing else to the prosperity of Pennsylvania, viz. " That all persons living in the Province, who confess and acknowledge the ONE almighty and eternal GOD, to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world ; and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested for their religious persuasion or practice, in matters of faith and worship ;

worship; nor shall they be *compelled* at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever." To which was added another equally conducive to the welfare of society. "That according to the good example of the primitive Christians, *and the ease of the creation*, every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common daily labour, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God, according to their understandings."

These laws were an original compact between the Governor and the freemen of the Colony. They appear to be founded in wisdom and equity, and some of them have been copied into the declarations of rights prefixed to several of the present republican constitutions in America. The system of government which Penn produced has been regarded as an Utopian project; but though in some parts visionary and impracticable, yet it was liberal and popular, calculated to gain adventurers with a prospect of republican advantages. Some of its provisions, particularly the rotation of the Council, have been adopted by a very enlightened body of

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American legislators, after the expiration of a century. The experiment is now in operation, and without experiment nothing can be fairly decided in the political, any more than in the physical world.

Having by the help of Sir William Jones, and other gentlemen of the long robe constructed a plan of government, for his Colony, Mr. Penn prepared to make the voyage to America, that he might attempt the execution of it.

A part of the lands comprehended within his grant, had been subject to the government, which was exercised by the deputy of the Duke of York. To prevent any difficulty, he thought it convenient to obtain from the Duke a deed of sale, of the Province of Pennsylvania, which he did on the 21st of August, 1682; and by two subsequent deeds, in the same month, the Duke conveyed to him the town of Newcastle, situate on the western side of the Delaware, with a circle of 12 miles radius from the centre of the town, and from thence extending southerly to the Hoar-Kills, at Cape-Henlopen, the western point of the entrance of Delaware Bay; which tract contained the settlements made by

by the Dutch, Swedes and Finns. This was called *the Territory*, in distinction from *the Province* of Pennsylvania, and was divided into three counties, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex.

At this time, the penal laws against Dissenters were executed with rigour in England, which made many of the Quakers desirous of accompanying or following Penn into America, where they had a prospect of the most extensive liberty of conscience. Having chosen some for his particular companions, he embarked with them in August, 1682, and from the Downs, where the ship lay waiting for a wind, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friends, which he called "a farewell to England." After a pleasant passage of six weeks, they came within sight of the American coast, and were refreshed by the land breezes, at the distance of twelve leagues. As the ship sailed up the Delaware, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted their new Governor with an air of joy and satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, and summoned the people to meet him, when possession of the soil was given him in the legal form of that day; and he entertained them with

with a speech, explaining the purpose of his coming, and the views of his government; assuring them of his intention to preserve civil and religious liberty, and exhorting them to peace and sobriety. Having renewed the commissions of their former magistrates, he went to Chester, where he repeated the same things, and received their congratulations. The Swedes appointed a Delegate to compliment him on his arrival, and to assure him of their affection and fidelity.

At this time, the number of inhabitants was about three thousand. The first planters were the Dutch, and after them the Swedes and Finns. There had been formerly disputes among them, but for above twenty years, they had been in a state of peace. The Dutch were settled on the bay, and applied themselves chiefly to trade: At Newcastle they had a court-house and a place of worship. The Swedes and Finns lived higher up the river, and followed husbandry. Their settlements were Christina, Tenecum, and Wicoco; at each of which they had a church. They were a plain, robust, sober and industrious people, and most of them had large families. The Col-

ony which Penn had sent over the year before, began their settlement above Wicoco, and it was by special direction of the proprietor, called PHILADELPHIA. The province was divided into three counties, Chester, Buckingham, and Philadelphia.

Three principal objects engaged the attention of Mr. Penn ; one was to unite the territory with the province ; another was to enter into a treaty with the Indians ; and a third was to lay out a capital city.

The first was entered upon immediately. Within a month after his arrival, he called a General Assembly at Chester, when the constitution, which had been formed in England, was to undergo an experiment. The free-men both of the province and territory were summoned to compose this assembly *in person*. Instead of which, they elected twelve members in each county, amounting in all to seventy-two, the precise number, which by the frame of government was to compose *one* house only. The elections were accompanied by petitions, to the Governor, importing "that the fewness of the people, their inability in estate, and unskilfulness in government, would not permit them to serve in

in so large a council and assembly, and therefore it was their desire, that the twelve now returned from each county, might serve both for Provincial Council and General Assembly, with the same powers and privileges which by the Charter were granted to the whole."

The members were accordingly distributed into two houses ; three out of each county made a Council, consisting of eighteen, and the remaining part formed an Assembly of fifty-four. In this Assembly was passed "the act of settlement," in which the frame of government made in England, being styled a *probationary act*, was so far changed, as that three persons of each county might compose the Council, and *six* the Assembly. After several other "variations, explanations and additions," requested by the Assembly, and yielded to by the Governor, the aforesaid Charter, and frame of government was "recognised and accepted, as if with these alterations it was supposed to be complete." The Assembly is styled "the General Assembly of the *Province* of Pennsylvania and the *territories* thereunto belonging."

Thus the lower counties, at this time, manifested their willingness to be *united* with the province of Pennsylvania ; but the proprietor

prietor had not received from the Crown, any right of jurisdiction over that territory, though the Duke had sold him the right of soil ; and it was not in the power of the people, as subjects of the King of England, to put themselves under any form of government, without the royal authority. The want of this, with the operation of other causes, produced difficulties, which afterward rendered this union void ; and the three lower counties had a separate Assembly, though under the same Governor.

Mr. Penn's next object was to treat with the natives. The benevolence of his disposition led him to exercise great tenderness toward them, which was much increased by an opinion which he had formed, and which he openly avowed, that they were descendants of the ten dispersed tribes of Israel. He travelled into the country, visited them in their cabins, was present at their feasts, conversed with them in a free and familiar manner, and gained their affections by his obliging carriage, and his frequent acts of generosity. But on public occasions, he received them with ceremony, and transacted business with solemnity and order.

In one of his excursions in the winter, he found a chief warrior sick, and his wife preparing to sweat him, in the usual manner, by pouring water on a heap of hot stones, in a closely covered hut, and then plunging him into the river, through a hole cut in the ice. To divert himself during the sweating operation, the Chief sang the achievements of his ancestors, then his own, and concluded his song with this reflection : " Why are we sick, and these strangers well ? It seems as if they were sent to inherit the land in our stead ! Ah ! it is because they love the *Great Spirit*, and we do not !" The sentiment was rational, and such as often occurred to the sagacious among the natives : We cannot suppose it was disagreeable to Mr. Penn, whose view was to impress them with an idea of his honest and pacific intentions, and to make a fair bargain with them.

Some of their Chiefs made him a voluntary present of the land which they claimed ; others sold it at a stipulated price. The form of one of these treaties is thus described, in a letter which he wrote to his friends in England. " The King sat in the middle of a half-moon, and had his Council, old and wise, on each hand. Behind, at a little distance,

distance, sat the young ones, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved the business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, took me by the hand, saluted me in the name of the King, told me he was ordered by the King to speak to me, and that now it was not he that spoke, but the King, because what he should say was the King's mind. [Having made an apology for their delay,] he fell to the bounds of the land they had to dispose of, and the price, which is now dear, that which would once have bought twenty miles, not now buying two. During the time this person was speaking, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachems, first to tell them what was done, next to charge them to love the Christians, to live in peace with me and my people, and that they should never do me or my people any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen, in their

their way. The pay or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring Kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every King, then, by the hands of a person, for that work appointed, was a proportion sent, sorted and folded, with that gravity which is admirable. Then that King subdivided it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects."

Mr. Penn was so happy as to succeed in his endeavours to gain the good will of the Indians. They have frequently, in subsequent treaties many years after, expressed great veneration for his memory; and to perpetuate it, they have given to the successive Governors of Pennsylvania the name of *Onas*, which signifies *a Pen*. By this name they are commonly known and addressed in the speeches made by the Six Nations in all their treaties.

One part of his agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person but to himself or his agents; another

another was, that his agents should not occupy nor grant any lands, but those which were fairly purchased of the Indians. These stipulations were confirmed by subsequent acts of Assembly; and every bargain made between private persons and the Indians without leave of the proprietor, was declared void. The charter which Mr. Penn had obtained of the Crown, comprehended a far greater extent of territory, than it was proper for him at first to purchase of the natives.

He did not think it for his interest to take any more at once than he had a prospect of granting away to settlers. But his Colony increased beyond his expectation, and when new tracts were wanted, the Indians rose in their demands. His first purchases were made at his own expense; and the goods delivered on these occasions, went by the name of *presents*. In a course of time when a treaty and a purchase went on together, the Governor and his successors made the speeches, and the Assembly were at the expense of the presents. When one paid the cost, and the other enjoyed the profit, a subject of altercation arose between the Proprietary and the popular interests, which other causes contributed to increase and inflame.

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The purchases which Mr. Penn made of the Indians were undoubtedly fair and honest ; and he is entitled to praise for his wise and peaceable conduct toward them. But there is such a thing as over-rating true merit. He has been celebrated by a late author,* as having in these purchases "set an example of moderation and justice, in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans." It had been a common thing in New-England, for fifty years before his time, to make fair and regular purchases of land from the Indians ; and many of their deeds are preserved in the public records. As early as 1633, a law was enacted in the Colony of Massachusetts, that "no person shall put any of the Indians from their planting grounds, or fishing places ; and that upon complaint and proof thereof, they shall have relief in any of the Courts of justice, as the English have." To prevent frauds in private bargains, it was ordered by the same act, that "no person shall buy land of any Indian, without license first had and obtained of the General Court." Other regulations respecting traffic with them, were made at the same time, which bear the appearance, not only

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* Abbe Raynal.

of justice and moderation, but of a parental regard to their interest and property.

Nor is it to be supposed that other Europeans neglected their duty in these respects. Several purchases were made before Penn's time, in New-Jersey. Mr. Penn himself, in one of his letters, speaking of the quarrels between the Dutch and the Swedes, who had occupied the lands on the Delaware before him, says, "the Dutch, who were the first planters, looked on them [the Swedes] as intruders on their *purchase* and possession." Of whom could the Dutch have purchased those lands, but of the natives? They could not have occupied them without the consent of the Indians, who were very numerous, and could easily have extirpated them, or prevented their settlement. It is probable that this Dutch purchase is referred to in that part of Penn's letter before quoted, where he speaks of the land at that time, (1683) as "*dearer*" than formerly, for how could this have been ascertained but by comparing his with former purchases?

It may then be proper to consider Mr. Penn as having followed the "examples of justice and moderation," which had been set

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by former Europeans, in their conduct toward the natives of America ; and as having united his example with their's, for the imitation of succeeding adventurers. This will give us the true idea of his merit, without detracting from the respect due to those who preceded him in the arduous work of colonizing America.

Mr. Penn easily foresaw that the situation of his province, and the liberal encouragement which he had given to settlers, would draw people of all denominations thither, and render it a place of commerce ; he therefore determined to lay the plan of a capital city, which, in conformity to his catholic and pacific ideas, he called PHILADELPHIA. The scite of it was a neck of land between the river Delaware on the east, and the Schuylkill (*Hiding Creek*) a branch on the west ; and he designed that the city should extend from one to the other, the distance being two miles. This spot was chosen on account of the firm soil, the gentle rising from each river toward the midst, the numerous springs, the convenience of coves capable of being used as docks, the depth of water for ships of burden, and the good anchorage. The ground was surveyed, and
a plan

a plan of the intended city was drawn by Thomas Holme, surveyor-general. Ten streets, of two miles in length, were laid out from river to river, and twenty streets of one mile in length, crossing them at right angles. Four squares were reserved for common purposes, one in each quarter of the city, and in the centre, on the most elevated spot, was a larger square of ten acres, in which were to be built a State-house, a market-house, a school-house, and a place of worship. On the side of each river it was intended to build wharves and ware-houses, and from each front street nearest to the rivers, an open space was to be left, in the descent to the shores, which would have added much to the beauty of the city. All owners of one thousand acres were entitled to a city-lot, in the front streets, or in the central high street, and before each house was to be an open court, planted with rows of trees. Smaller purchasers were to be accommodated in the other streets; and care was taken in all, that no building should encroach on the street lines. This last regulation has been always attended to, though in some other respects the plan has been either disregarded or not completed.

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The city was begun in 1682, and within less than a year, “ eighty houses and cottages were built, wherein merchants and mechanics exercised their respective occupations ;” and they soon found the country around them so well cultivated by the planters, as to afford them bread and vegetables, while the venison, fowl and fish, made an agreeable variety with the salted provisions which they imported. Penn himself writes, with an air of cheerfulness, that he was well contented with the country, and the entertainment which he found in it. This letter is among his printed works, and in the same collection we find an affectionate address to the people of Pennsylvania ; in it he appears to have a tender concern for their moral and religious improvement, and warns them against the temptations to which they were exposed. Their circumstances were indeed peculiar ; they had suffered contempt and persecution in England, and were now at rest ; in the enjoyment of liberty, under a popular form of government ; the eyes of the world were upon them ; their former enemies were watching their conduct, and would have been glad of an opportunity to reproach them ; it was therefore his desire that they should

should be moderate in prosperity, as they had been patient in adversity. The concluding words of this address, may give us a specimen of his style and manner of preaching. " My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage ; he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power ; he hath put precious opportunities into your hands ; have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things by which the inhabitants of the land that were before you, grieved his spirit ;* but sanctify God, the living God in your hearts, that his blessing may fall and rest as the dew of heaven on you and your offspring. Then shall it be seen to the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel ; but your tents shall be goodly, and your dwellings glorious."

In the spring of 1683, a second Assembly was held in the new city of Philadelphia, and a great number of laws were passed. Among other good regulations, it was enacted, that, to prevent law-suits, three arbitrators, called peace-makers, should be chosen by every County Court, to hear and determine small

* Probably alluding to the ten tribes of Israel, from whom he supposes the Indians to be descended.

small differences between man and man. This Assembly granted to the Governor an impost on certain goods exported and imported; which he, after acknowledging their goodness, was pleased, for the encouragement of the traders, "freely to remit." But the most distinguished act of this Assembly, was their acceptance of another frame of government which the proprietor had devised, which was "in part conformed to the first, in part modified according to the act of settlement, and in part essentially different from both." The most material alterations were the reducing the number of the Assembly from seventy-two to fifty-four, and the giving the Governor a negative in lieu of a treble voice in acts of legislation. Their "thankful" acceptance of this second charter, was a proof of his great ascendancy over them, and the confidence which they placed in him; but these changes were regarded by some as a departure from the principles on which the original compact was grounded.

The state of the province at this time has been compared to that of "a father and his family, the latter united by interest and affection; the former revered for the wisdom
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of his institutions and the indulgent use of his authority. Those who were ambitious of repose, found it in Pennsylvania; and as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed. All partook of the leaven which they found: The community wore the same equal face: No one aspired, no one was oppressed: Industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration." When we contemplate this agreeable picture, we cannot but lament that Mr. Penn should ever have quitted his province; but after residing in it about two years, he found himself urged, by motives of interest as well as philanthropy, to return to England. At his departure, in the summer of 1684, his capital city, then only of two years standing, contained nearly three hundred houses, and two thousand inhabitants; besides which there were twenty other settlements begun, including those of the Dutch and Swedes. He left the administration of government in the hands of the Council and Assembly, having appointed five Commissioners to preside in his place.

The motives of his return to England were two. A controversy with Lord Baltimore

timore, the proprietor of Maryland, concerning the limits of their respective patents; and, a concern for his brethren, who were suffering by the operation of the penal laws against dissenters from the established Church.

The controversy with Lord Baltimore originated in this manner. Before Penn came to America, he had written to James Frisby and others, at their plantations on Delaware Bay, then reputed a part of Maryland, advising them, that as he was confident they were within his limits, they should yield no obedience to the laws of Maryland. This warning served as a pretext to some of the inhabitants of Cecil and Baltimore counties, who were impatient of control, to withhold the payment of their rents and taxes. Lord Baltimore and his Council ordered the military officers to assist the sheriffs in the execution of their duty, which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. After this, Markham, Penn's agent, had a meeting with Lord Baltimore at the village of Upland, which is now called Chester, where a discovery was made by a quadrant, that the place was twelve miles south of the 40th degree of latitude, a circumstance before-

unknown to both parties. Baltimore therefore concluded to derive an advantage from precision, whilst Penn wished to avail himself of uncertainty. After Penn's arrival in America, he visited Lord Baltimore, and had a conference with him on the subject. An account of this conference taken in short-hand by a person present, with a statement of the matter in debate, were sent by Lord Baltimore to England, and laid before the Lords of trade and plantations in April, 1683. Upon which, letters were written to both, advising them to come to an amicable agreement. This could not be done; and therefore, they both went to England, and laid their respective complaints before the Board of Trade. Baltimore alleged that the tract in question was within the limits of his charter, and had always been so understood, and his claim allowed until disturbed by Penn. The words of his charter were, "to that part of Delaware Bay on the north, which lies under the 40th degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial." Penn, on the other hand, affirmed that Lord Baltimore's grant was of "lands not inhabited by the subjects of any Christian Prince;" that the land in question

question was possessed by the Dutch and Swedes prior to the date of the Charter of Maryland ; that a surrender having been made by the Dutch of this territory to King Charles, in 1664, the country had ever since been in possession of the Duke of York. The Lords at several meetings, having examined the evidences on both sides, were of opinion that the lands bordering on the Delaware did not belong to Lord Baltimore, but to the King. They then proceeded to settle the boundary, and on the 7th of November, 1685, it was determined, that "for avoiding further differences, the tract of land lying between the river and bay of Delaware, and the eastern sea, on the one side, and Chesapeake Bay on the other side, be divided into two equal parts by a line from the latitude of Cape Henlopen, to the 40th degree of northern latitude, and that one half thereof lying towards the Bay of Delaware and the eastern sea, be adjudged to belong to his Majesty, and that the other half remain to the Lord Baltimore, as comprised within his Charter." To this decision Lord Baltimore submitted, happy that he had lost no more, since a quo warranto had been issued against his Charter. But the decision, like many others, left room for

for a farther controversy, which was carried on by their respective successors for above half a century. The question was concerning the construction of “the 40th degree of latitude,” which Penn’s heirs contended was the *beginning* and Baltimore’s the *completion* of the 40th degree, the difference being sixty-nine miles and an half.*

The other cause of Mr. Penn’s departure for England proved a source of much greater vexation, and involved consequences injurious to his reputation and interest. His concern for his suffering brethren induced him to use the interest which he had at Court for their relief. He arrived in the month of August, and the death of Charles, which happened the next February, brought to the throne James II. under whom, when Lord high Admiral, Penn’s father had commanded, and who had always maintained a steady friendship with the son. This succession rather increased than diminished his attachment to the Court; but as James openly professed himself a Papist, and the prejudices

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* For the particulars of this controversy, and its final decision by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke in 1750, the reader is referred to Douglas’s Summary, II. 309, and Vesey’s Reports, I. 444.

of a great part of the nation against him were very high, it was impossible for his intimate friends to escape the imputation of being popishly affected. Penn had before been suspected to be a Jesuit, and what now contributed to fix the stigma upon him was, his writing a book on liberty of conscience, a darling principle at Court, and vindicating the Duke of Buckingham, who had written on the same subject. Another circumstance which strengthened the suspicion was, his taking lodgings at Kensington, in the neighbourhood of the Court, and his frequent attendance there, to solicit the liberation of his brethren who now filled the prisons of the kingdom.

He endeavoured to allay these suspicions by publishing an address to his brethren, in which he refers to their knowledge of his character, principles and writings, for eighteen years past, and expresses his love of moderation, and his wish that the nation might not become “barbarous for christianity, nor abuse one another for God’s sake.” But what gave him the greatest pain was, that his worthy friend Doctor Tillotson had entertained the same suspicion, and expressed

it

It in his conversation. To him he wrote an expostulatory letter, and the Doctor frankly owned to him the ground of his apprehension, which Penn so fully removed, that Doctor Tillotson candidly acknowledged his mistake, and made it his business on all occasions to vindicate Penn's character.* This ingenuous acknowledgment, from a gentleman of so much information, and so determined an enemy to Popery, is one of the best evidences which can be had, of Mr. Penn's integrity in this respect; but the current of popular prejudice was at that time so strong, that it was not in the power of so great and good a man as Doctor Tillotson to turn it.

Had Mr. Penn fallen in with the discontented part of the nation, and encouraged the emigration of those who dreaded the consequences of King James's open profession of Popery, he might have made large additions to the numbers of his colonists, and greatly increased his fortune; but he had received such assurances from the King, of his intention to introduce *universal toleration*, that he thought it his duty to wait for the enlargement

* These letters which do honour to both the writers, are printed in the first volume of Penn's works, and in the Biographia Britannica under the article PENN.

enlargement which his brethren must experience from the expected event. His book on liberty of conscience, addressed to the King and Council, had not been published many days, before the King issued a general pardon, and instructed the Judges of Assize on their respective circuits to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers in particular. In consequence of this, about thirteen hundred of them, who had been confined in the prisons, were set at liberty. This was followed by a declaration for liberty of conscience, and for suspending the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters, which was an occasion of great joy to all denominations of them. The Quakers, at their next general meeting, drew up an address of thanks to the King, which was presented by Mr. Penn.

The declaration of indulgence, being a specimen of that dispensing power, which the house of Stuart were fond of assuming, and being evidently intended to favour the free exercise of the Popish religion, gave an alarm to the nation, and caused very severe censures on those, who having felt the benefit of it, had expressed their gratitude in terms of affection and respect. The Quakers in particular became very obnoxious,
and

and the prejudice against Penn as an abettor of the arbitrary maxims of the Court, was increased; though on a candid view of the matter, there is no evidence that he sought any thing more than an impartial and universal liberty of conscience.*

It is much to be regretted, that he had not taken this critical opportunity to return to Pennsylvania. His controversy with Lord Baltimore had been decided by the Council, and his pacific principle ought to have led him to acquiesce in their determination, as did his antagonist. He had accomplished his purpose with regard to his brethren the Quakers, who, being delivered from their difficulties, were at liberty either to remain in the kingdom, or follow him to America. The state of the province was such as to require his presence, and he might at this time have resumed his office, and carried on

his

* "If an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or Papist, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it; and I can bear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it to me."

Penn's Let. to Sec. Popple, Oct. 24, 1688.

his business in Pennsylvania, with the greatest probability of spending the remainder of his days there in usefulness and peace.

The revolution which soon followed, placed him in a very disagreeable situation. Having been a friend to James, he was supposed to be an enemy to William. As he was walking one day in White-hall, he was arrested and examined by the Lords in Council, before whom he solemnly declared, "That he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and that he had never acted against either; but that King James had been his friend and his father's friend, and that he thought himself bound in justice and gratitude to be a friend to him." The jealous policy of that day had no ear for sentiments of the heart. He was obliged to find securities for his appearance at the next term, and thence to the succeeding term, in the last day of which, nothing having been specifically laid to his charge, he was acquitted.

The next year (1690) he was taken up again, on suspicion of holding correspondence with the exiled King. The Lords requiring securities for his appearance, he appealed

to King William in person, who was inclined to acquit him, but to please some of the Council, he was for a while held to bail and then acquitted.

Soon after this, his name was inserted in a proclamation, wherein eighteen Lords and others were charged with adhering to the enemies of the kingdom ; but no evidence appearing against him, he was a third time acquitted, by the Court of King's Bench.

Being now at liberty, he meditated a return to Pennsylvania, and published proposals for another emigration of settlers. He had proceeded so far as to obtain from the Secretary of State an order for a convoy ; but his voyage was prevented by a fourth accusation, on the oath of a person whom the Parliament afterward declared a cheat and impostor ; a warrant was issued for apprehending him, and he narrowly escaped an arrest, at his return from the funeral of his friend George Fox, on the 16th of January, 1691. He then thought it prudent to retire, and accordingly kept himself concealed for two or three years, during which time he employed himself in writing several pieces, one of which, entitled "Maxims and Reflec-

tions

tions relating to the conduct of human life," being the result of much observation and experience, has been much celebrated, and has passed through several editions. In 1693, by the mediation of several persons of rank, he was admitted to appear before the King in Council, where he so maintained his innocence of what had been alleged against him, that he was a *fourth* time honorably acquitted.

The true cause of these frequent suspicions was the conduct of his wife; who being passionately attached to the Queen, consort of James, made a practice to visit her at St. Germain's every year, and to carry to her such presents as she could collect from the friends of the unhappy royal family. Though there was no political connexion or correspondence between Penn's family and the King's, yet this circumstance gave colour to the jealousy which had been conceived; but the death of his wife which happened in February, 1694, put an end to all these suspicions. He married a second wife in 1696, a daughter of Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

By

By his continual expenses, and by the peculiar difficulties to which he had been exposed, he had run himself deeply into debt. He had lost £7000 before the revolution, and £4000 since; besides his paternal estate in Ireland, valued at £450 per annum. To repair his fortune, he requested his friends in Pennsylvania, that one hundred of them would lend him £100 each, for some years, on landed security. This, he said, would enable him to return to America, and bring a large number of inhabitants with him. What answer was given to this request, does not appear, but from his remaining in England six or seven years after, it may be concluded that he received no encouragement of this kind from them. The low circumstances of the first settlers, must have rendered it impossible to comply with such a request.

Pennsylvania had experienced many inconveniences from his absence. The Provincial Council having no steady hand to hold the balance, had fallen into a controversy respecting their several powers and privileges, and Moore, one of the proprietary officers, had been impeached of high misdemeanors. Disgusted with their disputes, and

dissatisfied

dissatisfied with the Constitution which he had framed and altered, Penn wrote to his Commissioners (1686) to require its dissolution; but the Assembly, perceiving the loss of their privileges, and of the rights of the people to be involved in frequent innovations, opposed the surrender. The Commissioners themselves were soon after removed by the proprietor, who appointed for his Deputy John Blackwell, an officer trained under Cromwell, and completely versed in the arts of intrigue. He began his administration in December, 1688, by a display of the power of the proprietor, and by endeavouring to sow discord among the freemen. Unawed by his insolence, they were firm in defence of their privileges, whilst at the same time they made a profession of peace and obedience. He imprisoned the Speaker of the Assembly which had impeached Moore, and by a variety of artifices evaded the granting an Habeas Corpus. He delayed as long as possible the meeting of a new Assembly; and when they entered on the subject of grievances, he prevailed on some of the Members to withdraw from their seats, that there might not be a quorum. The remainder voted

that

that his conduct was treacherous, and a strong prejudice was conceived not only against the Deputy, but the proprietor who had appointed him. The province also fell under the royal displeasure. Their laws had not been presented for approbation, and the new King and Queen were not proclaimed in Pennsylvania for a long time after their accession ; but the administration of government was continued in the name of the exiled monarch. At what time the alteration was made, we cannot be certain ; but in the year 1692, the King and Queen took the government of the Colony into their own hands, and appointed Col. Fletcher, Governor of New-York and Pennsylvania, with equal powers and prerogatives in both, without any reference to the Charter of Pennsylvania.

It being a time of war between England and France, and the province of New-York being much exposed to the incursions of the Indians in the French interest, the principal object which Fletcher had in view, was to procure supplies for the defence of the country, and the support of those Indians who were in alliance with the English. The Assembly insisted on a confirmation of their laws,

laws, as a condition of their granting a supply, to which he consented, *during the King's pleasure.* They would have gone farther, and demanded a redress of grievances; but Fletcher having intimated to them that the King might probably annex them to New-York, and they knowing themselves unable to maintain a controversy with the Crown, submitted for the present to hold their liberties by courtesy, and voted a supply. On another application of the same kind, they nominated Collectors in their bill, which he deemed inconsistent with his prerogative, and after some altercations dissolved them.

In 1696, William Markham, Deputy-Governor under Fletcher, made a similar proposal, but could obtain no supply, till an expedient was contrived to save their privileges. A temporary act of settlement was passed, subject to the confirmation of the proprietor, and then a grant was made of three hundred pounds; but as they had been represented by some at New-York, as having acted inconsistently with their principles in granting money to maintain a war, they appropriated this grant to "the relief of those friendly Indians who had suffered by the war."

war." The request was repeated every year, as long as the war continued; but the infancy, poverty, and embarrassments of the province, were alleged for non-compliance. The peace of Ryswick, in 1698, put an end to these requisitions.

Thus the province of Pennsylvania, as well as its proprietor, experienced many inconveniences during their long separation of fifteen years; and it is somewhat singular to remark, that whilst they were employed in an ineffectual struggle with the royal Governor and his Deputy; he, whom Montesquieu styles the American Lycurgus, was engaged in his darling work of religious controversy and of itinerant preaching through England, Wales, and Ireland.

In August, 1699, he embarked with his family, and after a tedious passage of three months, arrived in Pennsylvania. By reason of this long voyage, they escaped a pestilential distemper, which during that time raged in the Colony.

He did not find the people so tractable as before. Their minds were soured by his long absence, by the conduct of his Deputies and the royal Governors; their system of laws

laws was incomplete, and their title to their lands insecure. After much time spent in trying their tempers and penetrating their views, he found it most adviseable to listen to their remonstrances. Five sessions of Assembly were held during his second residence with them ; his expressions in his public speeches were soothing and captivating, and he promised to do every thing in his power to render them happy. They requested of him that, in case of his future absence, he would appoint for his Deputies men of integrity and *property*, who should be invested with full powers to grant and confirm lands, and instructed to give true measure ; and that he would execute such an instrument as would secure their privileges and possessions. To these requests he seemed to consent, and with the most flattering complaisance desired them to name a person for his substitute, which they with equal politeness declined.

In May, 1700, the Charter was surrendered by six parts in seven of the Assembly, under a solemn promise of restitution with such alterations and amendments as should be found necessary. When a new Charter was

in debate, the representatives of the lower counties wanted to obtain some privileges peculiar to themselves, which the others were not willing to allow. The members from the territory therefore refused to join, and thus a separation was made of the Province of Pennsylvania from the three lower counties.

In this new Charter, the people had no voice in the election of Counsellors ; who ever afterwards served in this capacity were appointed by the proprietor, but they had no power of legislation. The executive was vested solely in him, and he had a negative on all their laws. On the other hand, the Assembly had the right of originating laws, which before had been prepared for their deliberation. The number of members was four from each county, and more if the Governor and Assembly should agree. They were invested with all the powers of a legislative body, according to the rights of English subjects and the practice of other American Colonies. The privileges before granted were confirmed, and some of their most salutary laws were included in the body of the Charter ; all which were declar-

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ed irrevocable, except by consent of six sevenths of the Assembly with the Governor; but the clause respecting liberty of conscience was declared absolutely irrevocable. A provisional article was added, that if in three years, the representatives of the province and territories should not join in legislation, each county of the province might choose eight persons, and the city of Philadelphia two, to represent them in one Assembly, and each county of the territory the same number to constitute another Assembly. On the 28th of October, 1701, this Charter was accepted by the representatives of the province; previous to which (viz. on the 25th) the city of Philadelphia was incorporated by another Charter, and the government of it committed to a Mayor and Recorder, eight Aldermen and twelve Common Councilmen. The persons in each of these offices were appointed by name in the Charter, who were empowered to choose successors to themselves annually, and to add to the number of Aldermen and Common Councilmen so many of the freemen as the whole Court should think proper.

These two Charters were the last public acts of Mr. Penn's personal administration in Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania. They were done in haste, and while he was preparing to re-embark for England, which he did immediately on signing them. The cause of his sudden departure was an account which he had received, that a bill was about to be brought into Parliament, for reducing the proprietary and chartered governments to an immediate dependence on the Crown. In his speech to the Assembly, he intimated his intention to return and settle among them with his family; but this proved to be his last visit to America. He sailed from Philadelphia in the end of October, and arrived in England about the middle of December, 1701. The bill in Parliament, which had so greatly alarmed him, was by the solicitation of the friends of the Colonies postponed and finally lost. In about two months, King William died, and Queen Anne came to the throne, which brought Penn again into favour at Court, and in the name of the society, of which he was at the head, he presented to her an address of congratulation.

He then resumed his favourite employment of writing, preaching, and visiting the societies of Friends in England, till the year

1707,

1707, when he found himself involved in a suit at law with the executors of a person who had formerly been his steward. The cause was attended with such circumstances; that though many thought him ill used, the Court of Chancery did not give him relief; which obliged him to live within the rules of the fleet prison for about a year; till the matter was accommodated. After this he made another circuitous journey among his friends, and in the year 1710 took a handsome seat at Rushcombe in Buckinghamshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life.

At his departure from Philadelphia, he left for his Deputy, Andrew Hamilton, whose principal business was to endeavour a reunion of the province and territory, which being ineffectual, the province claimed the privilege of a distinct Assembly.

On Mr. Hamilton's death, John Evans was appointed in 1704 to succeed him. His administration was one unvaried scene of controversy and uneasiness. The territory would have received the Charter, and the Governor warmly recommended an union, but the province would not hearken to the measure. They drew up a statement of their grievances,

grievances, and transmitted to the Proprietor a long and bitter remonstrance, in which they charge him with not performing his promises, but by deep laid artifices evading them ; and with neglecting to get their laws confirmed, though he had received great sums of money to negotiate the business. They took a retrospective view of his whole conduct, and particularly blamed his long absence from 1684 to 1699, during which the interest of the province was sinking, which might have been much advanced, if he had come over according to his repeated promises. They complained that he had not affixed his seal to the last Charter ; that he had ordered his Deputy to call Assemblies by his writs, and to prorogue and dissolve them at his pleasure ; that he had reserved to himself, though in England, an assent to bills passed by his Deputy, by which means three negatives were put on their acts, one by the Deputy-Governor, another by the Proprietor, and a third by the Crown. They also added to their list of grievances, the abuses and extortions of the Secretary, Surveyor, and other officers, which might have been prevented if he had passed a bill proposed by the Assembly,

bly, in 1701, for regulating fees ; the want of an established judicature between him and the people, for the Judges being appointed by him, could not in that case be considered as independent and unbiassed ; the imposition of quit-rents on the city lots, and leaving the ground on which the city was built, encumbered with the claim of its first possessors the Swedes.

The language of this remonstrance was plain and unreserved ; but the mode of their conducting it, was attended with a degree of prudence and delicacy which is not commonly observed by public bodies of men in such circumstances. They sent it to him privately, by a confidential person, and refused to give any copy of it, though strongly urged. They were willing to reclaim the proprietor to a due sense of his obligations, but were equally unwilling to expose him. They had also some concern for themselves ; for if it had been publickly known, that they had such objections to his conduct, the breach might have been so widened as to dissolve the relation between them ; in which case certain inconveniences might have arisen respecting oaths and militia laws, which would not have
been

been pleasing to an Assembly consisting chiefly of Quakers.

Three years after, (viz. in 1707) they sent him another remonstrance, in which they complained that the grievance before mentioned, was not redressed ; and they added to the catalogue, articles of impeachment against Logan the Secretary, and Evans the Deputy-Governor. The latter was removed from his office, and was succeeded by Gookin in 1709, and he by Sir William Keith in 1717 ; but Logan held his place of Secretary, and was in fact the prime minister and mover in behalf of the proprietor, though extremely obnoxious to the people.

These Deputy-Governors were dependent on the proprietor for their appointment, and on the people for their support ; if they displeased the former, they were recalled, if the latter, their allowance was withheld ; and it was next to impossible to keep on good terms with both. Such an appointment could be accepted by none but indigent persons, and could be relished by none but those who were fond of perpetual controversy.

To return to the proprietor. His infirmities and misfortunes increased with his age, and

and unfitted him for the exercise of his beloved work. In 1711, he dictated a preface to the journal of his old friend John Banks, which was his last printed work. The next year he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which impaired his memory. For three succeeding years he continued in a state of great debility, but attended the meeting of Friends at Reading, as long as he was able to ride in his chariot, and sometimes spake short and weighty sentences, being incapable of pronouncing a long discourse. Approaching by gradual decay to the close of life, he died on the 30th of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried in his family tomb at Jordan's in Buckinghamshire.

Notwithstanding his large paternal inheritance, and the great opportunities which he enjoyed of accumulating property by his connexion with America, his latter days were passed in a state far from affluent. He was continually subject to the importunity of his creditors, and obliged to mortgage his estate. He was on the point of surrendering his province to the Crown for a valuable consideration, to extricate himself from debt. The

instrument

instrument was preparing for his signature, but his death, which happened rather unexpectedly, prevented the execution of it ; and thus his province in America descended to his posterity, who held it till the Revolution.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

Mr. WINSLOW's ACCOUNT of the NATIVES
of NEW-ENGLAND, annexed to his Narrative
of the Plantations. A. D. 1624. [Purchas,
IV. 1867.]

A FEW things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians ; both touching their religion and sundry other customs among them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters, (which came to the press against my will and knowledge) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God ; therein I erred, though we could then gather no better ; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*,* to be the principal maker of all the rest ; and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we and all mankind came ; but how they became so far dispersed, that they know not. At first, they say, there was no Sachem or King, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends, and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth westward in the heavens, they say ; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quachet*, that is to say, walk abroad, for there is no place for such ; so that they wander in restless want and penury. Never man saw this Kiehtan, only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea charge them to teach their posterities

* The meaning of the word Kiehtan hath reference to antiquity, for *chife* is an old man, and *Kieb-chife* a man that exceedeth in age.

posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good ; and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together and cry unto him ; and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the northward of us, *Hobbamoqui* ; this, as far as we can conceive, is the devil. Him they call upon, to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same, for some conceived anger against them ; but upon their calling upon him, can and doth help them ; but when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kiehtan is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure ; insomuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him. This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake. He appears not to all, but the chieftest and most judicious among them ; though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honour. He appears most ordinary, and is most conversant with three sorts of people : one, I confess I neither know by name or office directly ; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think no weapon can kill them ; another they call by the name of *Powak*, and the third *Paniefe*.

The office and duty of the Powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with them in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or as we term it, say Amen to that he faith ; yet sometime break out into a short musical note with him. The Powah is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joineth many antic and laborious gestures with the same, over the party diseased. If the party be wounded, he will also seem to suck the wound ; but if they be curable, (as they say)

say) he toucheth it not, but a shooke, that is the snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the eagle, sitteth on the shoulder, and licks the same. This none see but the Powah, who tells them he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery,

And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus, so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the Powah's speech, he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased; but whether they perform it I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called sometimes to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could to make them understand against the same. They have told me I should see the devil at those times come to the party; but I assured myself and them of the contrary, which so proved; yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in child-birth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this Powah; though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in other parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after child-birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in cold weather, in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases they kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan: saying, in their memory, he was much more called upon. The Narohig-gansets exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, Priests) come: thither, at certain known

times,

times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c. all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely; and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This, the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their Sachems would appoint the like; and because the plague has not reigned at Narohigganset as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

The Panieses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them by painting, disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the Sachems council, without whom they will not war, or undertake any weighty business. In war their Sachems, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of great stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous and humane in their carriages than any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys, from their childhood, in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age, the devil may appear to them, causing

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to drink the juice of fenny and other bitter herbs, till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again and again, till at length through extraordinary pressing of nature it will seem to be all blood ; and this the boys will do with eageries at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness, they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold : also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes and stumps and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their Sachems cannot be all called Kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection and pay homage unto them ; neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation ; yet to be commanded by the greater, as occasion seemeth. Of this sort is *Massassowat* our friend, and *Conanacus* of Narohigganset our supposed enemy. Every Sachem taketh care of the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged and any way maimed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A Sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth ; otherwise, they say their seed would in time become ignoble ; and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives ; but put away the other at their pleasure. This government is successive and not by choice ; if the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

Every Sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth ; and that is his own proper inheritance ; out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets

sets them in their bounds. In this circuit, whoever hunteth, if any kill venison, they bring him his fee ; which is four parts of the same, if it be killed on land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The Great Sachems or Kings know not their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the Sachem's. When they come, they tell them how long they will stay and to what place they go ; during which time they receive entertainment, according to their persons, but want not. Once a year the Panieses use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the Sachem. To that end, they appoint a certain time and place, near the Sachem's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn and make a great stack thereof. There the Panieses stand ready to give thanks to the people, on the Sachem's behalf ; and after acquaint the Sachem therewith, who fetcheth the same and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical which they take from one another and altogether ; yet it will draw tears from their eyes and almost from ours also. But if they recover, then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoro*. When they bury the dead, they sow up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth ; if the party be a Sachem, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it ; also he will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be

the

the man or woman of the house ; they will pull down the matts, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over house-keeping;

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing. The women live a most slavish life ; they carry all their burdens ; set and dress their corn, gather it in, and seek out for much of their food ; beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices, whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable ; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head, till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed, some as modest, as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men ; being very chaste also ; yet other some are light, lascivious and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live, where they never come unwelcome ; for *where are most women there is greatest plenty.*

When a woman hath her monthly terms, she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone ; after which, she washeth herself, and all

that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family. For adultery, the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are, as well as in other places; but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery; for no man will keep such a one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the Sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In case of theft, for the first offence, he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, beaten by the Sachem, with a cudgel on the naked back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upwards, that thereby all men may know and shun him. If any man kill another, he must likewise die for the same. The Sachem not only passeth sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the Sachem himself, before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away, though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel; but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, they presently pull off their breeches, stockings and shoes, wring out the water, if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment which covereth their secrets. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter, or fox skin on their right arm; but only their bracer

on the left. Women, and all of that sex, wear strings about their legs, which the men never do.

The people are very ingenious and obserватive ; they keep account of time, by the moon, and winters or summers ; they know divers of the stars by name ; in particular they know the North Star, and call it *Maske*, which is to say, *the Bear* ; also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather beforehand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list—can raise storms and tempests, which they usually do, when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits, and at such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for their language, it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof ; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding, by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of Records and Chronicles, they take this course : Where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith ; and lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident, as men pass by, they will oft renew the same : By which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travel-

leth,

leth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be less tedious, by reason of many historical discourses which will be related to him.

For that continent on which we are, called New-England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of the main land adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise; for they affirm confidently that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea between us and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call *Mohegon*, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's river, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as I hear) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this their opinion is thus much; though Virginia be not above an hundred leagues from us, yet they never heard of *Powhatan*, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and *Tisquantum*, who went thither in an English ship; and therefore it is more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years experience I can scarce distinguish New-England from Old-England, in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, &c. Some object because our plantation lieth in the latitude of two and forty, it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the reason of the contrary; only experience teaches us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New-England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own conditions with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of

heat,

heat, nor nipped by biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired had we lived in England with the like means. The day is two hours longer than here when at the shortest, and as much shorter when at the longest.

The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, and others a mixed sand, &c. The chiefest grain is the Indian maize or Guinea wheat; the seed-time beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quality to the same in Virginia; the reason I conceive is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen. But whereas it is objected against New-England, that corn will not grow there except the ground be manured with fish: I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground, and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without them, and have as good corn or better than we have that set with them; though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil to sow wheat, rye, barley, peas and oats, than to set maize, which our Indians call *Ewyachim*; for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days, yet men agreeing together and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall plant here, by trading with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had

to

to affirm, that the English, Dutch and French return yearly many thousand pounds profit by trade only, from that island on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west-country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to Plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come? I confess we have come so far short of the means, to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercies and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter.

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Page 57, line 10 from bottom, read 1617.

P. 293, l. 7, for *wry*, r. *way*.

P. 403, l. 7, from bottom, for *twenty-two* r. *seventy-two*,

